

SHIRAZ-I HIND

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A History of Jaunpur Sultanate

SYED EJAZ HUSSAIN



MANOHAR

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To
My Teacher
PROFESSOR SURENDRA GOPAL
With Sincere and Deepest Obeisance

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SYED EJAZ HUSSAIN

Introduction

The idea of doing a research on Jaunpur Sultanate stemmed some years ago when I was engaged in the study of the coins of the Jaunpur Sultans along with the coinages of the Sultans of Delhi and other provincial Sultanates of India under a project of The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. What really captivated me was the copper-based currency of Jaunpur which enabled this kingdom to maintain its economy and richness of culture. The grant of a Major Research Project on the subject by the University Grants Commission propelled the research pursuit.

The decline of the Tughluq rule under the Delhi Sultanate witnessed the emergence of independent provincial sultanates at the close of the fourteenth century. The first to emerge was the tiny Sultanate of Madura in 1334 at the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51). The Faruqi dynasty in Khandesh was founded in 1382 by Malik Raja Faruqi, the son of Khan Jahan Faruqi, a nobleman who flourished under Ala-ud Din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq. Malik Raja himself had served as the Sipah Salar of Khandesh under Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88). An independent monarchy was established in Malwa in 1392 by Dilawar Khan Ghorī, a governor of Malwa, under Muhammad bin Firuz Tughluq (1390-3). The Sultanate of Jaunpur was founded by Malik Sarwar, the *Khawaja-sara* or eunuch of Firuz Shah Tughluq, while Zafar Khan, the governor of Gujarat under Mahmud bin Muhammad Tughluq (1393-1413) declared his independence in 1396 and laid the foundation of the Gujarat Sultanate. Bengal had been an independent Sultanate at least from the early fourteenth century from 1342 under Shams-ud Din Ilyas Shah (1342-57), if not earlier, and the Bahmani Sultanate had come into existence in 1347 under 'Ala-ud Din Bahman Shah (1347-59).

Among these provincial sultanates, Jaunpur occupied a very significant position. Though its lifespan was the shortest (for the independent Sultanate of Khandesh lasted for 219 years, the Bahmani Sultanate for 180 years, Gujarat for 176 years and Jaunpur only a century, yet its history is full of notable events and developments which gives it a distinct place in history.

During the period of a century six rulers occupied the throne of Jaunpur. Malik Sarwar and his adopted son Mubarak Shah ruled only for a short period. But Ibrahim Shah, Mahmud Shah and Husain Shah ruled from 1402 to 1494, excluding the rule of Muhammad Shah for a brief spell in 1458. The reign of Ibrahim, Mahmud and Husain covers a period of 91 years (see Appendix 1 on p. 225) during which Jaunpur rose to prominence in northern India. Its rulers had to fight not only with the neighbouring tiny kingdoms like Kalpi but they also led military campaigns to Delhi, Malwa, Tirhut, Bengal and even Orissa.

In spite of all these, the Sharqi rulers found time for peaceful pursuits. They encouraged education, patronized artists and musicians, scholars and sufis, and erected magnificent buildings, some of which are still extant, though most of them are in ruins. Jaunpur was one of the most renowned seats of Muslim learning in the East. Sher Shah Suri, the founder of the Sur Dynasty in Delhi, came all the way from Sasaram in Bihar to Jaunpur for his education. Scholars and poets like Shaikh Shahab-ud Din Daulatabadi who translated *Al-kafiya fi'nahv* from Arabic to Persian, Shaikh Muhammad Isa Taj, the renowned scholar, and Shaikh Qutban, the well-known Awadhi poet who composed the romantic work *Mrigavati*, were all courtiers in the Jaunpur Sultanate. Qutban and the Maithili poet Vidyapati, who happened to visit Jaunpur have showered praises on the sultans of Jaunpur. Husain Shah, the last ruler of the Sharqi dynasty was himself a poet and accomplished musician who is credited with not only composing *Rāg Jaunpuri* but he is also considered the innovator of the *shahnai* the well known wind instrument. The famous Sanskrit work *Sangitasiromani* was also composed in Jaunpur during the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi. The lofty monuments of Jaunpur such as the Atala Mosque, the Jami Mosque, the Lal Darwaza Mosque, etc., carried a distinct style and characteristics of their own under the liberal patronage of the Sharqi rulers. The Mughal emperor Shah

Jahan once referred to Jaunpur as *Shiraz-i Hind* and *Dar-ul 'ilm* (the abode of learning).

Scope of the Work

It is a matter of regret that such a rich and one of the most powerful Sultanate in India, famous for its unique and superb monuments, and patronage of art, music, learning and education with a rich numismatic heritage, has not yet been paid adequate attention. Except two books, one by A. Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* published as early as 1889 and the second by Mian Muhammad Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History* published in 1972 from Karachi, no other detailed monograph on the subject is available. The economy and the numismatic evidences however, have been ignored by both the authors. The first book is limited to architecture while the second one mainly concentrates on the political and cultural history, leaving out several important aspects untouched and unanswered, as rightly pointed out by M.R. Tarafdar ('On a History of Jaunpur', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, 1975, XX(2): 41-52). The uncertainties, lacunae and unsolved problems in the history of Jaunpur were earlier pointed by Prof. S.H. Askari in his article 'Discursive Notes on the Sharqi Monarchy of Jaunpur', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (23rd Session, Aligarh, 1960), Calcutta, 1961, pp. 152-63.

A notable feature of the Jaunpur Sultanate is that it was in the heart of northern India and included the *khalisa* or crown lands of the Delhi Sultanate. But unlike Bengal, Orissa, Vijayanagar and Gujarat, Jaunpur did not have access to the sea for the maritime trade. In spite of this disadvantage, the rulers of this tiny kingdom gave generous patronage to cultural pursuits and engaged in regular military activities solely depending upon the agrarian economy sustained by its fertile land. A pertinent question addressed here is how the institution of agrarian economy functioned and how the rulers maintained connections with the peasantry with the help of the chain of local rajas, chieftains and other kinds of intermediaries.

A significant aspect of the Jaunpur Sultanate was its currency pattern, something that has almost been neglected by modern researchers. Jaunpur had developed its own independent currency

system. However, there is no exclusive catalogue available of the coins of the Jaunpur Sultanate. Some coin-catalogues and very few research articles have discussed only the individual coins struck by different rulers. An attempt has therefore been made here to study the coins of this Sultanate on the basis of the study of numerous coin-hoards found particularly in modern undivided Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Emphasis is be laid on the currency pattern and money supply. The areas of circulation of coins has also been investigated on the basis of the coins found from different places.

Significance of the Study

Jaunpur, the seat of Sharqi kingdom, has left rich vestiges which refurbish India's culture of harmony. The numismatic and architectural heritage as well as certain development in the field of music and composition of the musical work like *Sangitasiromani* in Sanskrit form India's composite national heritage. The proposed research explores these dimensions in detail. This will help not only to understand the medieval Indian society and culture, but it may also help to bring this *Shiraz-i Hind* or the citadel of medieval Indian culture to India's tourist map since Jaunpur is located barely 15 km from Varanasi, a great tourist centre in the country.

Being a detailed account of the various dimensions of the Jaunpur Sultanate and its specific contributions in the field of economy, art and culture, the proposed research presents an in-depth study in the context of the rich Islamic heritage as well as India's multicultural traditions. This would help form an accurate picture of the medieval Indian society, culture and economy as well as the growth of Indo-Islamic traditions.

Methodology

Extensive fieldworks were undertaken in Bihar and U.P. for the study of the area under research and for the collection of documentary, numismatic and other kinds of materials preserved in museums, *khanqahs* and libraries as well as in private collections. Coins preserved in museums such as the Lucknow Museum, Bharat Kala Bhavan,

Varanasi and Patna Museum as well as some private collections in Kolkata, U.P. and Delhi were consulted and photographed.

In Varanasi the Bharat Kala Bhavan has preserved a good number of Jaunpur coins of which there is a gold coin of Ibrahim Shah and some Mughal coins of Jaunpur mint. These coins were studied and photographed. Rare paintings of *Mrigavati* and *Laur Chanda* of Bharat Kala Bhavan were also studied and photographed.

Field-work based studies were conducted in the Lucknow Museum, Amiruddaula Library and some other libraries of Lucknow. Lucknow Museum has the largest number of coins belonging to the Jaunpur Sultans of which the majority were studied and photographed. In a second study tour to Zafarabad, Jaunpur and Husainabad, all the existing monuments of the period were visited and photographed for analytical study. The author was taken by the local people to an interior desolate area of Zafarabad where there are lying ruins of a medieval paper factory. At Husainabad in Ballia district, the author discovered the ruins of a Jami Mosque and an Arabic inscription of the Bengal Sultan. The inscription discovered during the course of this fieldwork was not yet known. It has recently been published by the present author.

The author also had an opportunity to visit the British Museum and the India Office Library, London as well as the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge where he studied some coins belonging to the Jaunpur Sultanate and a couple of manuscripts and some other relevant works in connection with this research. The architectural remains of the period was studied and photographed during the course of the field trip to Jaunpur.

An Appraisal of the Primary Sources and Other Works on the Subject

Compilation of court chronicles and non-official histories was one of the established traditions of the medieval Islamic world. This tradition was in practice in India during the Sultanate-Mughal rule. Works in Persian such as Hasan Nizami's *Taj-ul Ma'asir*, Minhajuddin Siraj's *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Zia-ud Din Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Shams Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* and *Sirat-i Firuz*

Shahi by an anonymous author, Isami's *Futuh-us Salatin*, Yahya bin Ahmed Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, etc., were some of the chief historical works compiled under the Sultanate of Delhi. Such tradition became stronger during the Mughal period when the rulers took keen personal interests in compilation of their own biographies. Babur and Jahangir wrote their own memoirs under the names *Tuzuk-i Baburi* and *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, respectively, Humayun's sister Gulbadan Begum compiled the *Humayun Nama*, Akbar commissioned Abul Fazl to write the *Akbar Nama*, Shah Jahan assigned Abdul Hamid Lahori to compile *Shahjahanama* and many other works of semi-official and non-official nature were written.

But it is strange that in spite of being a centre of repute of Islamic learning with a large assemblage of profound scholars, no court chronicles or any contemporary history of Jaunpur kingdom has come down to us. Possibly the works of Sharqi historians, if any, met the same fate as the Sharqi monuments at the hands of the Lodi Sultans, particularly Sikandar Lodi, who demolished and destroyed almost all Sharqi buildings and palaces except a few mosques which he spared on the humble and benign supplication of the 'ulama and Islamic religious personages. Our surmise is confirmed when we find references to this in mystic literature: for instance, the *Lata'if-i Quddusi*, a collection of the conversations of the celebrated Chishti saint Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, contains a reference to a versified Persian translation of Mulla Daud's *Chandayan* that was done by Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi but when war broke out between Sultan Bahlol Lodi and Sultan Husain Sharqi, the work was destroyed. However, a few verses with their original Awadhi have come down to us. Another interesting reference is found in *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* of Shaikh Abdul Haqq, the famous *muhaddis* of Delhi. The Shaikh says that one of his ancestors had compiled a versified account of the conflict between Bahlol and Sultan Husain, perhaps on the pattern of *Qiran-us Sa'dain* of Amir Khusrau and *Futuh-us Salatin* of Isami, but even his earnest endeavours to trace this book proved futile.

The intense rivalry, enmity and wars between the Delhi and Jaunpur rulers most likely prevented and shunned the Delhi historians from describing any details of the events of the Sharqi

kingdom. The author of *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, who narrated his history writing up to the year 1434, was in a position to supply valuable information about the early Sharqi Sultans. But all that he has given is a few scattered incidents about the first three Sharqi rulers. Later historians like Muhammad Kabir, the author of *Afsana-i Shahan*, Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* and Rizqullah Mushtaqi, the author of *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, have supplied merely anecdotes and no history can be constructed on their basis. A systematic effort to prepare a brief but authentic account of the Sharqis was made by Nizam-ud Din Ahmad, the famous *bakhshi* of Akbar, who wrote *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. Later historians like Farishta and others presented a rehash of Nizam-ud Din Ahmad's account of the regional history. A good deal of information, however, can be gleaned from the works like *Afsana-i Shahan* of Muhammad Kabir, *Subh-i Sadiq* of Muhammad Sadiq Isfahani and *Rauzat-ut Tahirin* of Tahir Muhammad Sabzwari.

Another significant source is the *Bayāz* or diary of Mulla Taqia. Also known as Taqi-ud Din or Taqi Muhammad, Mulla Taqia travelled from Jaunpur to Bengal during the time of his service under Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan. He has been mentioned by the authors of *Tabaqat-i Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, and also by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, who gave him the title of 'Muwarrikh Khan in 1608. Mulla Taqia was also a poet and was commissioned by Akbar to compose a *Shahnama*. It is interesting to note that he adopted the *Din-i Ilahi* faith. His *Bayāz* or diary has now been lost but an abridged portion of the diary was published in 1949 in an Urdu monthly *Ma'asir* brought out from Patna. It contains some details about Jaunpur history that is not known from other sources. In fact, Mia Muhammad Saeed's *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History*, perhaps skipped to consult this *Bayaz*.

Some other noteworthy works in Awadhi, Hindi and Persian of folk art and hagiographic nature provide some fragmentary but significant information which add to our existing knowledge of the history of the region. One such important work is *Kirtilata*, a long poem like the Persian-Urdu *mathnavi*, composed by Vidyapati, the court-poet of Oinwara king Kirtisimha of Mithila. Vidyapati who had visited Jaunpur during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi furnishes

some invaluable information in *Kirtilata* about the socio-economic and cultural life of Jaunpur. The fragmentary manuscript in Hindi dated vs 1719 by Bodhraj of Pugal preserved in the State Archives, Bikaner contains some details of the Parmar Rajputs including those of Jagdishpur and Dumraon of Bhojpur district of Ara and helps in forming some idea of the relationship between the Rajput chiefs and the Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur.

At the close of the eighteenth century, Maulana Khair-ud Din Muhammad who originally belonged to Allahabad and was posted for some time at Jaunpur under the English East India Company, wrote *Tarikh-i-Jaunpur* at the instance of Abraham Welland, a British official, who was also posted at Jaunpur during the Governor-Generalship of Marquis Wellesley (1798-1805). Khair-ud Din developed a passion for local history and also wrote the *Tuhfa-i Tazah*, a history of Benares, at the request of his mentor Abraham Welland, and the *Gwalior Nama*, a history of Gwalior. But Khair-ud Din's *Tarikh-i Jaunpur* is mostly devoted to the later history of Jaunpur and some of the Sharqi-time monuments.

Later on, some portions of Khair-ud Din's work were translated into English by W.R. Pogson in the early nineteenth century when he was posted at Jaunpur by the East India Company. Nearly half a century later General Cunningham started his researches on Indian archaeology. His Archaeological Survey Reports contain detailed descriptions of the Sharqi monuments of Jaunpur. A. Fuhrer's *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* written in 1889 on the monuments of Jaunpur was the first systematic attempt to study the archaeological remains of the Sharqi period. Later historians drew their information mainly from the pioneer work of Fuhrer. But Fuhrer was primarily interested in archaeology and not the history of Jaunpur; hence his description of Jaunpur history is very sketchy. When H.R. Nevill compiled the Gazetteers of the various districts of Uttar Pradesh, one of the volumes was based on Jaunpur. But both Nevill and Cunningham followed Pogson's work. They also referred to a work, *Manaqib-i Darweshiya*, which is now untraceable.

In a textbook series written in the early decades of the twentieth century, V.A. Smith in his *The Oxford History of India* and Sir Wolseley Haig in *The Cambridge History of India* contributed to the

history of Jaunpur a few paragraphs only. Atala Mosque and a few other tombs and mosques of Zafrabad and Jaunpur were their focus of attention. R.C. Majumdar who edited the Vidya Bhavan series of *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Delhi Sultanate*, vol. VI describes the history of Jaunpur in six pages and is no more than a rehash of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari. Comprehensive History of Bihar*, vol. II, pt. 1, edited by S.H. Askari and Qeyamuddin Ahmad (1983) contains some references to Jaunpur kingdom which stretched up to Bihar.

As mentioned above, except two contemporary works—one by A. Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* published as early as 1889 and the other by Mian Muhammad Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History* published in 1972 from Karachi, no other detailed monograph on the subject is available. The first work is devoted basically to architecture while the second is confined to the political and cultural history along with a chapter on Architecture.

Lane Poole's *Catalogue of Coins of the Muhammadan States in the British Museum London* (1885); H. Nelson Wright's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, vol. II, pt. II (1907); Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka's *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* (2001); Parmeshwari Lal Gupta's *Coins* (1969), A.K. Srivastava's *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh 1882-1979* (1980) and some research articles published in numismatic journals are the available sources on coins of Jaunpur which have been studied here along with public and private collections of this series of coins.

It is hoped that this study chiefly covering economy, coins and culture will open up a new vistas of learning and add to our existing knowledge of the Jaunpur kingdom, especially the economy, society and culture of the region during that period. However, the political history has not been overlooked here.

Attempt has been made not to overload the work with diacritical marks; they have been used wherever they were deemed very necessary.

Abbreviations

<i>BPP</i>	<i>Bengal Past and Present</i>
<i>CAPIB</i>	<i>Corpus of Arabic & Persian Inscriptions of Bihar</i>
<i>CAPIMC</i>	<i>Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i>
<i>CHB</i>	<i>Comprehensive History of Bihar</i>
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of India</i>
<i>DG</i>	<i>District Gazetteer</i>
<i>EIAPS</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica: Arabic & Persian Supplement</i>
<i>HB</i>	<i>History of Bengal (by Charles Stewart)</i>
<i>JAHS</i>	<i>Journal of Andhra Historical Society</i>
<i>JASB (NS)</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Numismatic Supplement)</i>
<i>JASP</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society Pakistan</i>
<i>JBORS</i>	<i>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i>
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
<i>KPJRI</i>	<i>K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna</i>
<i>ND</i>	<i>Numismatic Digest</i>
<i>ONS (NB)</i>	<i>Oriental Numismatic Society (News Bulletin)</i>
<i>PIHC</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</i>

CHAPTER I

The Rise of the Jaunpur Sultanate

Foundation of the City of Jaunpur

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88) in 1360. On his way back after the second Bengal invasion, due to heavy rains he had to halt at Zafrabad. The plains and landscape with the flowing river Gomti near Zafrabad so mesmerized him that he ordered a new city to be built up there (Map 1). This city was named Jaunpur after his cousin Muhammad bin Tughluq who was called Jauna. Shams Siraj Afif records:

Fil-hāsil Haḍrat Firuz Shah be-himayat-i karam Allāh Ta'la miyan-i Qannauj wa Oudh shudah dar Jaunpur rasīd. Hanuz dar ān aiyyām dar muqam-i Jaunpur shahr ābadan na-shudah būd. Chun Haḍrat Firuz Shah dar zamīn-i Jaunpur dar āmad muqām-i marawwah wa shihra-i khūb dīd. Dar dil-i Mubarak guzranīd ke dar īn mahal shahr-i buzurg ābadan mi-bayed gardanīd. Haḍrat Firuz Shah muddat shash māh dar Jaunpur māndah dar kinana-i lab-i āb-i Gomti shahr-i m'uazzam ābadan gardanīd. Wa be-nāme Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq Shah ta'iyyun kardah. Zira-ke Sultan Muhammad ra Junan nām būd. Ān shahr badīn ai'tbār Junanpur nām nihād.

فی الحاصل حضرت فیروز شاہ بہ حمایت کرم اللہ تعالیٰ میان قنوج و اودھ شدہ در جونپور رسید هنوز در آن ایام در مقام جونپور شہر آبادان نشدہ بود۔ چون حضرت فیروز شاہ در زمین جونپور در آمد مقامی مروح و صحرائی خوب دید۔ در دل مبارک گذرانید کہ درین محل شہرے بزرگ آبادان می باید گردانید۔ حضرت فیروز شاہ مدت شش ماہ در جونپور ماندہ در کنار آب گومتی شہرے معظم آبادان گردانید۔ و بنام سلطان محمد شاہ بن تغلق شاہ تعین کردہ۔ زیرا کہ سلطان محمد را جونان نام بود۔ آن شہر بدین اعتبار جونان پور نام نہاد۔

(Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 148)

Ultimately, His Majesty Firuz Shah, by the grace of the kind Allah arrived at Jaunpur [that was] lying between Qannauj and Oudh. Uptill now no city was erected at the place of Jaunpur. When His Majesty Firuz Shah reached the land

of Jaunpur he found the landscape healthy and picturesque. It came to the mind of His Majesty that a big city could be raised there. His Majesty Firuz Shah having stayed there for six months got a splendid city raised there on the bank of the river Gomti. And it was named after Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Tughluq Shah for Sultan Muhammad was called [Malik] Jauna. That city for this reason came to be known as Jaunpur.

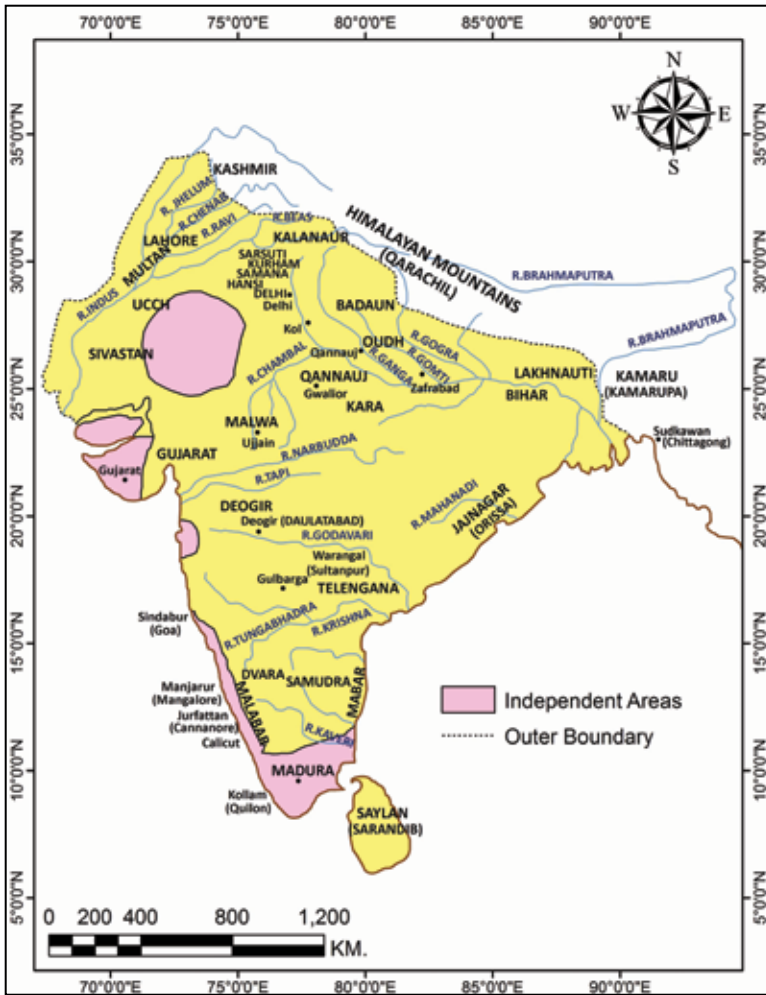
The above quote from Afif establishes that Jaunpur was a planned city, the foundation of which was formally laid down by Firuz Shah Tughluq himself. After laying the foundation, Firuz Shah stayed there for about six months, most likely for the purpose of supervising the construction of the buildings which included the famous Atala mosque, the foundation stone of which was laid down by him. But since the city of Jaunpur was completely devastated by Sikandar Lodi we do not find any remains of the city except for a few mosques which are mute testimony of this once flourishing city.

Malik Sarwar Khan Jahan

Malik Sarwar Khan Jahan who ruled during 1394-9 was one of the most prominent nobles of Firuz Shah Tughluq and he was the founder of the Jaunpur Sultanate in 1394. Not much is known about the early career of Malik Sarwar. He was believed to be a *khwaja-sara* (eunuch). Shams Siraj 'Afif a contemporary chronicler who composed the *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* in 1398, says that he was appointed by Firuz Shah Tughluq as the custodian of the royal jewellery.¹

Another contemporary historian Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, has mentioned that Malik Sarwar served as *Shahnah-i Shahr* or governor of the city (of Delhi) under Firuz Shah. These evidences establish that Malik Sarwar was a man of talent and integrity, and by dint of which he was promoted from the post of the custodian of royal jewellery to the post of *Shahnah-i Shahr* of Delhi.²

When Firuz Shah Tughluq died in 1388, civil wars, conspiracies and intrigues, murders and quick successions became the political culture in Delhi. He was succeeded by his grandson (the son of late Fath Khan) Tughluq Shah II (1388-9) who ruled for five months only. He was dethroned and assassinated and was succeeded by Firuz



Map 1: Delhi Sultanate under Muhammad bin Tughluq (c. 1335)
before the Formation of the Jaunpur Sultanate

Shah Zafar (1389) and after his brief spell of rule Abu Bakr Shah (1389-90) came to power. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi in *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* has mentioned Malik Sarwar as *Shahnah-i Shahr* under Abu Bakr Shah. It establishes that Malik Sarwar most likely

continued to hold the post of *Shahnah-i Shahr* from the time of Firuz Shah Tughluq right up to the reign of Abu Bakr Shah.

Malik Sarwar secretly hatched a conspiracy to instal Muhammad Shah (1390-3), Firuz Shah Tughluq's son to power. The latter had deprived him of heir-apparentship and had instead nominated his grandson, Tughluq Shah, as his successor. Muhammad Shah who was living in the hills of Sirmur made several overtures to capture the throne of Delhi with the help of Malik Sarwar and some other nobles who were loyal to him. He, first of all, captured Samana and Jalesar, and then moved towards Delhi. Malik Sarwar secretly sent some enforcement to strengthen his position, and encouraged him to march to Delhi. After some initial setbacks at Jalesar he after a short time again marched to Delhi. This time he was openly supported by Malik Sarwar. Overwhelmed with his help and loyalty Muhammad Shah conferred upon him the title of *Khwaja-i Jahan* and gave him the post of Wazir. Finally he captured the throne of Delhi in August 1390. Abu Bakr was caught and imprisoned, and he died after some time.

After accession to the throne Muhammad Shah did not keep his words of making Malik Sarwar his Wazir and Islam Khan instead was appointed as Wazir while Malik Sarwar had been offered the post of Na'ib Wazir which he accepted without hesitation, and remained loyal and devoted to him.³

However, Islam Khan was executed after two years, in 1392, on account of suspicion of becoming a rebel. Now Malik Sarwar was promoted to the post of Wazir. He continued to hold this post till Muhammad Shah was alive and even under his son and successor Humayun Khan who assumed power in January 1394 after his father's death. In fact, he controlled all the affairs of the state until Humayun Shah's death in March 1394. After some opposition from the nobles who were pacified by Malik Sarwar, Muhammad Shah's youngest son Mahmud Shah (1394-1413) came to the throne in March 1394. In view of his support and loyalty, Malik Sarwar continued as Wazir. The political situation at that time was very unstable. Jaunpur and adjoining areas were in open rebellion and paid no revenue. At this time in May 1394 Malik Sarwar was appointed as the governor of the province spread from Qannauj to Bihar and was also conferred upon

the title of *Sultan-ush Sharq*, which was earlier held by late Sultan Muhammad. Before joining his new assignment Malik Sarwar made his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, in charge of all the affairs of the capital Delhi and conferred upon him the same title of *Malik-ush Sharq*.

As mentioned above, Jaunpur and the adjoining areas like Koil, Etawah, Khor, Kampila, Qannauj were in open rebellion and anarchy prevailed. The *rais* and the *zamindars* of these places withheld the payment of annual revenue. Some local chiefs had attacked and ravaged the forts in their localities. Ordinary people felt unsafe due to the chaos and lawlessness.

Malik Sarwar left Delhi with a large army and twenty war elephants. On arriving at Jaunpur he first quelled the rebellion of the chiefs of Dalmau, Kara, Awadh, Etawah, Qannauj, Sandila, and Bahraich and suppressed them completely. He then subjugated the Ujjainias of Bhojpur in Bihar and Tirhut. Though Ujjainia chief Har Raj had been killed by the Jaunpur army yet the Ujjainias did not surrender completely. Har Raj's sons Gaj Raj and Dev Raj who had taken shelter in the hills continued to harass the local chiefs of Jaunpur.⁴ Persian chronicles like *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*, *Tabaqat-i Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* have stated that the *Rais* of Jajnagar (Orissa) and the King of Lakhnauti who had stopped paying their annual tribute and elephants to Firuz Shah Tughluq were now forced by Malik Sarwar to pay tributes to Jaunpur in place of Delhi.⁵ Malik Sarwar had invaded Jajnagar also. It is notable that the ruler of Lakhnauti at that time was Ghiyas-ud Din A'zam Shah (1390-1410) who was a powerful ruler. In view of the establishment of a strong Sharqi rule which shared its boundary with Bengal kingdom and Malik Sarwar's greater political influence in Delhi, A'zam Shah perhaps deemed it politically and strategically better to maintain friendly relation with the Jaunpur rulers and thus thought it pertinent to send some elephants and other gifts to him as tribute. So far as the ruler of Orissa is concerned Narasimha Deva IV (1378-1414) was the contemporary of Malik Sarwar. It is possible that Malik Sarwar might have invaded Orissa in the lust of capturing some elephants which he did and reached up to Jajnagar. Perhaps the ruler of Orissa followed the strategic policy of Bengal Sultan A'zam Shah and gave

some gifts and elephants to Malik Sarwar in order to befriend him and keep him away from his territory.

Malik Sarwar as the ruler of Jaunpur was in a strong position. He did not formally declare his independence but he governed his province independently almost in all senses. On the other hand, the position of Mahmud Shah, the ruler of the tottering Tughluq dynasty of Delhi had become very precarious and vulnerable on account of continued dissensions and intrigues of the nobles who were involved in plotting for their own personal interests.

Mallu Iqbal Khan, the leading noble, dominated in all the affairs of the state after departure of Malik Sarwar to Jaunpur and Mahmud Tughluq was just reduced to a puppet in his hands. Provincial governors assumed practically a status of complete independence. It was during this time when Amir Timur of Samarqand invaded Panjab and captured it, and subsequently he moved forward to invade and sack Delhi in 1398. Mahmud who was challenged by his rival, Nusrat Shah, the son of Fath Khan, left Delhi to seek refuge first with Zafar Khan of Gujarat, and then with Dilawar Khan of Malwa. Malik Sarwar finding the time most opportune adopted the title of *Atabak-i A'zam* (The Greatest Lord) and declaring his formal independence. He is said to have struck coins in his name and also had the *khutba* recited in his name.⁶ But no such coins have till now come to light nor we have come across any inscription in his name.

Soon he expanded his territorial possession by capturing Koil (modern Aligarh), Sambhal (now a tahsil in Moradabad), and Rapri (now a village in Shikohabad).

Now his boundary stretched from Aligarh, including all the rich districts of what is today known as Uttar Pradesh, to the district of Tirhut in north Bihar, and touched the boundary of Nepal and the Himalayan Tarai. On the west it spread from Qannauj to Bhojpur in Bihar.

But Malik Sarwar could not get enough time to further consolidate his kingdom and introduce reforms in the governance and administration. According to Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, who was closest and most authentic of all the sources, Malik Sarwar passed away on Rabi' I, 802/November 1399. He thus ruled for about five years and six months. The date and period of reign given by other

later evidences do not tally when compared to the numismatic sources available of the later rulers of Jaunpur.

Malik Sarwar was a strong ruler with forceful personality. When he arrived in Jaunpur, the whole territory and adjoining areas were in open rebellion. *Zamindars* had withheld the revenue and destroyed some forts. Malik Sarwar adopted a strong policy and at the very outset suppressed the rebels, completely restored the forts, and garrisoned them with troops under capable commanders. His dignity and grandeur appealed so much to the *zamindars* as to convert them into regular payers of revenue. Temperamentally he was a man of peaceful nature. He liked the company of sufis of his time and encouraged them to visit his kingdom. He was a disciple of Khwaja Shaikh Ali of Rajgir in Bihar where he visited several times to pay his homage to him.

Malik Sarwar did not get enough time for art and architecture. Still some of the edifices are attributed to him. He is said to have built a royal palace on the ruins of *Yagi Mandal*, one of the buildings of Raja Vijaya Chandra and named it *Badi Manzil* (The Wonderful House). He also completed the fort, the work of which was started by Firuz Shah Tughluq and renamed the city of Jaunpur as *Dar-us Surūr* (The Abode of Bliss).⁷ However, no trace of any of his buildings is found.

Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi (1399-1402)

Malik Mubarak Qaranful, the adopted son of Malik Sarwar succeeded to the throne on Rabi'I, 802/November 1399. He came to be known as Sultan Mubarak Shah. Nobles of Malik Sarwar supported his ascendancy.⁸

Was Mubarak Shah a Sayyid by Origin?

We do not know about the origin or lineage of Mubarak Shah. Some Persian chroniclers like Nizam-ud Din has said that his title was actually 'Qaranful' which means 'clove which is dark in colour'.⁹ On the basis of this, Sir Wolsley Haig and R.C. Majumdar believed that Mubarak Shah was an Abyssinian slave and the Sharqi rulers were of

African blood.¹⁰ This is in fact a misconception. Saeed has stressed that in Arabic classical poetry 'Qaranful' is a synonym for beauty. It was perhaps due to his fair complexion that he was called 'Qaranful' by Malik Sarwar, his adoptive father.¹¹

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi believed him to be a Sayyid on the ground that he was a nephew or cousin of Khizar Khan, son of Malik Sulaiman, the founder of the Sayyid Dynasty of Delhi. Since the mother and the wife of Sultan Husain Sharqi were princesses of the royal Sayyid family of Delhi, and his son, Jalal Khan was married to the daughter of Nusrat Shah (1519-31), a confirmed Sayyid ruler of Bengal, it is evident that he was a Sayyid because a Sayyid generally and a royal Sayyid family in particular would not have liked to give their daughter in marriage to a non-Sayyid and particularly a black or an Abyssinian slave.¹²

Jaunpur Nama makes us believe that Malik Sarwar had conferred upon Mubarak Shah the title of *Malik-ush Sharq* in his lifetime and had placed him in-charge of the affairs of the central government. He had also sent him on forays against the *Rais* of northern and southern Bihar. He successfully subdued and made them pay tribute. He was sent against the ruler of Bengal too.¹³

On the other hand, when Mahmud Tughluq fled to Gujarat on Timur's advance towards Delhi, Mallu Iqbal defeated his rivals, particularly, Nusrat Shah Tughluq and captured the throne of Delhi. As soon as Mallu Iqbal came to know of the demise of Malik Sarwar and accession of his adopted son Mubarak Shah to power at Jaunpur, he invaded Jaunpur.

Mallu Iqbal, the usurper of the Delhi throne, sought the support of Shams Khan, the *muqta* or governor of Bayana as well as Mubarak Khan and Bahadur Nahar of Mewat, and left with them to conquer Jaunpur in the month of Jamadi, I, 803/January-February 1400. When they reached the banks of the river called *Ab-i Siyāh* or Kālī Nadi near Patiali, the *zamindars* of that territory under the leadership of Rai Sir who were loyal to Sultan Mubarak Shah opposed them and a fierce battle took place in which the allies of the Mubarak Shah Sharqi were routed and chased up to Etawah. Mallu Iqbal now marched to Qannauj and encamped there on the banks of the Ganges. On the other hand, Sultan Mubarak Sharqi proceeded with



Map 2: Decline of the Tughluq Empire and Foundation of the Jaunpur Sultanate

a large army consisting of Rajputs, Afghans, Mughuls and Tajiks, and arrived the opposite side of the camp of Mallu Iqbal. Both the armies stayed for two months facing each other. Ultimately they withdrew to their respective capitals without any military engagement.¹⁴ This was the first attack of the Delhi Sultan on Jaunpur.

A second invasion of Jaunpur was undertaken by Mahmud Tughluq along with Mallu Iqbal when Amir Timur left India and Mahmud Tughluq returned from his refuge in Gujarat and Malwa to Delhi, as has been referred to by Nizam-ud Din, Farishta and Khairuddin Muhammad. Sultan Mubarak Sharqi came out with his army to face the enemy but it is said that he died on his way to the enemy camp. He ruled for about three years. Chroniclers mention that he issued coins in his name, but none has come to light so far.¹⁵

NOTES

1. Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, pp. 148-9.
2. Muhammad Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 416b.
3. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 150; *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 425a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 246; Tahir Sabzwari, f. 604a; *Mutakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol. I, p. 261; Farishta, I, p. 276.
4. Hindi work on Parmara Rajputs by Bhodraj of Pugal of Bikaner referred to by Syed Hasan Askari and Qeyamuddin Ahmad (eds), *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, vol. II, pt. I, Patna: KPJRI, 1983, p. 212 (henceforth quoted as *CHB*.)
5. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 156-7; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 248, and *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 264.
6. *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, ff. 426-7; Tahir Sabzwari, f. 689a; Farishta, II, p. 591.
7. Afif, p. 149; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36.
8. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 274; Farishta, II, p. 591.
9. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 274; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 16; F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2008, 10th Impression, p. 966.
10. Sir Wolseley Haig (ed.), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928, p. 259; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1990, 4th edn., p. 187.
11. Mian Muhammad Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History*, Karachi: University of Karachi, 1972, p. 37.
12. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 181-2.

13. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 15-16.
14. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 169; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 274; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol. I, p. 272; *Farishta*, II, p. 592.
15. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 274; *Farishta*, II, p. 591; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 17.

Consolidation of the Sharqi Kingdom

Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (1402-40)

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, Nizam-ud Din, Bada'uni, Farishta and others agree that Mubarak Shah was succeeded by his younger brother, Ibrahim Shah without any opposition from the nobility.¹ He came to power in 804/1402. This date is supported by Bada'uni also. He is the first Sultan of Jaunpur whose coins have been found. On his coins he has called himself: Al-Sultan al-a'zam Shams-ud Duniya waddin Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Shah. During the reign of his elder brother Mubarak Shah he took keen interest in administration. He was once even sent to suppress some rebellion. He was also in-charge of the capital for some time when Mubarak was out on some military expedition.² In this way, he proved his capability as a military commander as well as an administrator during the rule of his elder brother. These were perhaps the reasons that his accession was unanimously supported by the nobles.

As soon as Ibrahim Shah came to power he had to hurriedly prepare for battle with the Delhi army which had already begun march towards Jaunpur under the commandment of Muhmud Shah Tughluq and Mallu Iqbal. The enemies laid their camp near Qannauj and skirmishes took place as soon as Ibrahim Shah arrived there. But Sultan Mahmud was apprehensive of depending and trusting upon Mallu Iqbal, owing to his past behaviour. One night, on the pretext of going on hunting, he went to meet Sultan Ibrahim Shah, but the latter treated him coldly. Feeling insulted Sultan Mahmud attacked and captured Qannauj, which was then under the Sharqi rule. Prince Fath Khan Harawi, the Sharqi governor of Qannauj was expelled. But this was only a temporary occupation of Qannauj

by the Delhi ruler. Feeling isolated, Mallu Iqbal left for Delhi and Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur. But a couple of years later when Mallu Iqbal was killed in 1405, Ibrahim Shah recaptured Qannauj after a siege of four months by the end of 1406.³

Now Ibrahim took measures to suppress the Ujjainiya Rajputs of Bhojpur. As noted above (p. 31) Malik Sarwar had subjugated the Ujjainiyas and forced them to withdraw to the hills. After the death of Malik Sarwar in 1399, Ujjainiyas came down from the hills and made Karur their new stronghold. Ibrahim Shah now sent an army against the Ujjainiyas at Karur. Jagdeo, the then Ujjainiya chief fled to the forest where he is believed to have died later. His successor Sangram Deo continued his guerrilla attacks on Jaunpur's local chiefs and this continued till Ibrahim Shah's death in 1440.⁴

Ibrahim Shah now turned his attention towards Tirhut. Earlier Malik Sarwar had subjugated Tirhut and received tribute from the Tirhut chief Ganeshwara. If *Kirtilata*, the famous poetical work of the contemporary Mithila poet Vidyapati is to be believed, Ibrahim Shah sent an army to Tirhut on the request of the poet who himself visited Jaunpur along with Kirtisimha, his patron against a local oppressive chief Arsalan Khan.⁵

In 1402 Malik Arslan, an ambitious local chief, attacked and killed Ganeshwara and captured Tirhut. In order to restore his possession over Tirhut Ganeshwara's successor, Kirtisimha, sought help from Delhi and Bengal but he failed in his endeavour. Then he appealed to Ibrahim Shah Sharqi for military assistance. On his request Ibrahim sent a large force to Tirhut under the command of Malik Muhammad Ghani. When the Sharqi army reached Raipur across the Gandak river Malik Arslan came out to face the enemy but he was defeated and killed. Kirtisimha was restored as the Raja of Tirhut, and his accession was celebrated in the presence of Sultan Ibrahim who was perhaps invited for the purpose. But this entire story is based on *Kirtilata* whose poet Vidyapati's period is not firmly established and variously known as 1358-1448, 1347-1456, 1350-1440 and 1372-1448. Yet by all accounts his period comfortably falls within the time-span of the reign of Ibrahim Shah. An Arabic inscription of Ibrahim Shah discovered from Darbhanga dated 805/1402-3 recording the construction of a mosque attests to this

fact. The inscription is now lost but it was described in detail by Mulla Taqia.⁶ The Arabic inscription and the statement of *Kirtilata* corroborating each other establish the event to be a fact. It is also notable here that Ibrahim attacked Tirhut a second time in 1418. This time he personally marched to Tirhut on his onward expedition to Bengal against Raja Ganesh as has been supported by Mulla Taqia. Sheo Singh, the son of Deva Singh, the Raja of Tirhut, had deposed his father, declared his independence and was in league with Raja Ganesh of Bengal. Ibrahim attacked Sheo Singh and made him a captive, and his father Deva Singh was again installed in Tirhut. But this second attack on Tirhut has not been recorded by Vidyapati; though he was then alive. It has been mentioned only by Mulla Taqia. However, the discovery of Jaunpur coins including Ibrahim Shah's coins from several places in Bihar like Darbhanga, Vaishali, Begusarai, Palamau, Patna and some other places,⁷ make us believe that Ibrahim had greater sway over Bihar and his subjugation of Sheo Singh and reinstalling his father Deva Singh might not be untrue.

These successes and recapturing of Qannauj encouraged Ibrahim and emboldened him to march up to Delhi in 1407. In view of his strong position some nobles of Delhi such as Tatar Khan, Nusrat Khan Gurgandaz and Malik Marhaba deserted the Sultan of Delhi and joined him instead. Ibrahim first attacked Sambhal near Moradabad. Asad Khan Lodi, the *muqti* of Sambhal could not withstand him and fled. Ibrahim appointed Tatar Khan as his *muqti* at Sambhal and then marched to Delhi. Next he captured Baran near Bulandshahr and appointed Malik Marhaba as his *muqti* there. When he approached Delhi he came to know that Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, having conquered Dhar, the capital of Malwa, had arrested Alp Khan, i.e. Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa, and was moving towards Jaunpur to capture it. Having come to know this, Sultan Ibrahim immediately turned back to Jaunpur to save his kingdom.⁸

In the meantime, Mahmud Shah Tughluq marched with his army from Delhi and attacked Baran in early 1408. The Sharqi faujdar of the fort, Malik Marhaba who had once betrayed Sultan Mahmud, lost courage to fight him and committed suicide. Mahmud captured Baran and marched ahead to recover Sambhal. Tatar Khan, the

faujdar of the fort of Sambhal lost courage and fled to Qannauj. The Delhi ruler easily captured Sambhal and entrusting it to Asad Khan Lodi, returned to Delhi.⁹

This followed an era of peace for some years. During this period Ibrahim Sharqi stayed in his capital devoting his time in improving the administration and other state affairs. In order to strengthen the security of his kingdom, he built some forts where strong garrisons were stationed under capable commanders. Some other construction works also undertaken. Jaunpur city which was the capital, was decorated with beautiful buildings. A magnificent palace known as the Chihal Sitūn Mahal (or a forty pillared hall) and the beautiful tomb of Sultan-ush Sharq Malik Sarwar were notable architectures of his time. But the beautiful building that still exists was the Atala Mosque the foundation of which had been laid by the Delhi ruler, Firuz Shah Tughluq.¹⁰

Invasion on Kalpi

The instability and weakness of the central authority made the situation in Delhi volatile. In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud Tughluq died in 1412 and he was succeeded by Daulat Khan Lodi. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi watched these changes keenly as he was looking for an opportunity to expand his power and territorial possession.

The tiny kingdom of Kalpi had been founded by Malikzada Firuz who came to be known as Nasir-ud Din Mahmud Shah (1400-11) who was earlier a noble of Firuz Shah Tughluq. It comprised the modern districts of Jalaun, Kanpur and some other neighbouring areas in Uttar Pradesh. It was situated between the kingdoms of Malwa and Jaunpur, and at the same time it was very close to Delhi also. On account of the geo-political situation it was a bone of contention for the rulers of Jaunpur, Malwa and Delhi. The tyrannical and unfriendly attitude of its ruler, Qadir Shah (1411-32) exhorted Ibrahim Sharqi to suppress him. Muhammad Bihamid Khani informs us that Sultan Ibrahim advanced upon Kalpi in Muharram 816/April 1413 with a large army including war elephants. When Qadir Shah, who had then marched against the nearby *iqta* of Bhongaon, came to know of Ibrahim's approach towards Kalpi, he collected his scattered army

and was able to receive support of his nobles and local *zamindars* like Rai Sir and others, and soon reached Mahmudabad, his capital. The very next day Sultan Ibrahim reached there and besieged the city. The siege continued for some days and there were some skirmishes but Ibrahim failed to capture the city. After some time he returned to Jaunpur disappointed.¹¹

The very next year in 1414 a second and final attack on Kalpi was undertaken by Sultan Ibrahim. This time he marched towards Kalpi with a large cavalry consisting of numerous elephants. A powerful Kalpi *zamindar* like Biramdeo Baghela, Muqaddam of Ghora, shifted his loyalty from Mahmud Khan and joined him. The Sharqi army first captured Mahoba and Rath and handed them over to Jalal Khan bin Da'ud Khan to govern there. Another nearby place, Shahpur was also captured and it was given to Hasan Khan bin Maskin, one of Sultan Ibrahim's nobles to govern. These victories boosted the morale of Sultan Ibrahim who dispatched a large army under his another noble, Malik Maqbul, along with Biramdeo to besiege the fortress of Iraj. Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, who was at that time in-charge of the said fortress, fought along with Biramdeo against them. A fierce battle took place in which many soldiers of both sides were killed. Ultimately, the fortress of Iraj and the towns of Bhandir and Jehtra were occupied by the Jaunpur army. Ja'far bin Da'ud was appointed as the faujdar of the fortress of Iraj and Bhandir was handed over to Khizr Ayyub by Malik Maqbul. The Sharqi general now proceeded and joined Sultan Ibrahim, who encamped a few miles away. The united forces advanced towards Shaikhpur, where Qadir Shah opposed them. The Sharqi army used catapults and naphtha throwing devices called *atish-i naft*. It is notable here that such devices were in common use in Malwa, Gujarat and other provinces. *Naft* stands for gunpowder manufactured by using saltpetre, the reference of which is found in a Persian dictionary *Adat-ul Fuzala* compiled at Jaunpur in 1419-20 by Qazi Khan Badr Muhammad.¹² Many of Kalpi soldiers and civilians were killed. The people of the city sent appeals for mercy to Sultan Ibrahim. Qadir Shah and his nobles ultimately agreed for peace and thus managed to save their capital by accepting the overlordship of Jaunpur. Rich presents and tributes were exchanged between the two

sides. *Khutba* was read in the name of Ibrahim Shah at Mahmudabad and coins were also said to have been struck in his name.¹³ However, no such coins have come to light till now.

But this truce could not last long. Very shortly Qadir Shah gathered an army and recaptured Mahoba and Rath and Jalal Khan was forced to flee from there. Qadir Shah also sent a contingent of army under Daulat Khan bin Junaid Khan to capture Iraj but the Sharqi faujdar, Ja'far bin Da'ud, strongly resisted and did not allow him to capture the fort of Iraj. However, Ja'far bin Da'ud was murdered after a couple of years and the fortress of Iraj was captured by Mahmudabad.¹⁴

March against Raja Ganesh of Bengal

Ibrahim Shah's invasion of Bengal was executed in 1418 on the request of the contemporary sufis Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam of Pandua (Bengal) and Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Semnani who lived in Bengal, Bihar and Jaunpur and is now buried at Kachhauchha near Jaunpur in Uttar Pradesh. The background of the invasion is that during the period of weak rule of Hamzah Shah (1411-12), Bayazid Shah (1412-14) and Firuz Shah (1414-15), the descendants of Ilyas Shah of Bengal, Raja Ganesh who held a *zamindari* in his family as old as four hundred years (*chahār sad sāla zamindar*) obtained complete ascendancy and became the *de facto* ruler of Bengal. It is said that he became a tyrant and persecuted the Muslims and the sufis. In this situation Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam asked Sultan Ibrahim to invade Bengal in order to save the Muslims from persecution of Raja Ganesh. The Shaikh also intimated Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Semnani who then lived in Jaunpur and asked him to pray for better days. Sultan Ibrahim sought advice separately from Ashraf Jahangir Semnani for the invasion on Bengal. On getting a positive signal from him also, Ibrahim marched with a large army to Bengal via Tirhut where he defeated Raja Sheo Singh and installed his father Raja Deva Singh as mentioned above. He then continued his march to Bengal. Raja Ganesh, learning of this, became frightened and made peace with Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam. He sought his forgiveness and requested him to persuade Sultan Ibrahim to withdraw his army. Nur Qutb-i

'Alam acceded to his request on condition that Raja would desist from tyranny and persecution of the Muslims and his younger son would be converted to Islam. The Raja finally sought peace and his son, Jadu, was converted to Islam. He ascended the throne assuming the title of Jalal-ud Din Muhammad (1415-16 and 1418-33). At the pleading of Nur Qutb-i 'Alam, Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur.¹⁵

Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the contemporary historian, claims that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi on receiving complaints about the oppressive rule of Sultan Shams-ud Din Ahmad Shah (1433-4) of Bengal invaded the eastern kingdom in 839/1435 and besieged the fort of Ekdala. Charles Stewart referring to *Tarikh-i Farishta* has also supported a second attack on Bengal by Jaunpur. Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Bengal finding himself unable to face the invader sought the help from Shah Rukh, Timur's son and ruler of Herat, who wrote a letter to Ibrahim and warned of the bad consequences if he attacked Bengal in future. On the interference of Shah Rukh, the Jaunpur ruler desisted from a second Bengal invasion. It may be noted, that Shams-ud Din Ahmad Shah's father Jalal-ud Din Muhammad had developed diplomatic relation with the ruler of Herat and it was this background on the basis of which Shams-ud Din Ahmad sought help from Shah Rukh. Saeed on the basis of a reference in *Matla' u's-Sa'dain* of 'Abdur Razzaq, has claimed that this invasion was undertaken during the reign of Mahmud Sharqi, the son of Ibrahim Sharqi. On the other hand, if we take the date 839/1435 that is mentioned by Muhammad Bihamid Khani, a contemporary historian, we will have to place this second invasion on Bengal during the reign of Nasir-ud Din Mahmud IV (837-63/1434-59), who was then the ruler of Bengal. But there is no question of Nasir-ud Din's seeking help from Shah Rukh. Nasir-ud Din was a powerful ruler who ruled for about 25 years in Bengal. On the other hand, since Shams-ud Din Ahmad's father Jalal-ud Din had diplomatic relationship with Shah Rukh it did not appear unusual for Shams-ud Din to seek help from his father's friend and well-wisher. If that were the case, then Muhammad Bihamid Khani has perhaps given a wrong date, i.e. 839/1435. The date should actually be 835-7/1433-4, the year when Shams-ud Din Ahmad ruled over Bengal and Ibrahim Shah was the ruler of Jaunpur.¹⁶

Ibrahim's Bengal invasion is found mentioned even in *Sangitasiromani*, a musical work composed in vs 1485/AD 128-9 at Kara, near Allahabad by a unanimous author during the reign of Ibrahim Shah. According to the *Sangitasiromani*,

This wise Ibrahim with the shower of the clouds of the proud and roaring elephants, horses and soldiers quenched the fire in which the *sakas* (Muslims) were burning like insects to death and turned Gaud again into a *saka* (Muslim) country having converted his politically experienced son into a Turushka (Muslim).¹⁷

Sangitasiromani has perhaps referred to here the first invasion of Ibrahim Sharqi on Bengal.

Decade of Peace and Tranquillity

The Bengal invasion was followed by a period of peace and tranquillity when Ibrahim was not engaged in any war for about a decade (1418-27). During this period Ibrahim Shah found time to encourage peaceful pursuits like art and architecture. Ibrahim Shah's benevolent patronage of art and learning has been applauded by the contemporary and late chroniclers. The decline of the Delhi Sultanate and its devastation particularly by Timur, and the rise of the Jaunpur Sultanate in close proximity of Delhi, encouraged the men of art and learning to migrate from Delhi to Jaunpur in large numbers. Jaunpur had now earned the appellation of *Dar-u'l-Aman* (The Abode of Peace). Scholars of great repute from different parts of India and Persia found refuge and patronage there. It is said that these learned scholars and artists came in such large numbers that Jaunpur became a second Delhi and better than Isfahan. *Mir'at-i Jahan Numa* informs us that Jaunpur became the most flourishing literary centre during the Sharqi rule. Many literary luminaries like Qazi Shihab-ud Din Daulatabadi, Maulana Ilāh-Dad, Khwaja Abul Fath, Shaikh Muhammad 'Isaq Taj Chishti, Qazi Nasir-ud Din Gumbadi adorned the court of Ibrahim Sharqi and contributed works on theology and law and organized the study of Arabic and Persian. The most learned and prominent among them was Qazi Shihab-ud Din. He was given the title of *Malik-u'l 'Ulama* and was honoured with the post of a *Qazi-ul Quzzat* (Chief Justice). Sultan

Ibrahim built for him a special *madrassa* or college of Islamic Studies as well as an imposing residence. He also offered him a silver chair in the Assembly as is claimed by *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. Abul Fazl says that he was famous for his wisdom and learning. He wrote several treatises, such as *Kitab-i Arshad*, *Sharh-i Hindi*, *Usul-i Ibrahim Shahi*, *Rasalah Manaqib-u'l Sadāt*, *Sharh-i Kafiya*, *Bahr-i Mawwāj* and other; some of these were dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi and others attest that Sultan Ibrahim's literary and spiritual activities gave him a high fame far and wide. During this period of peace he built magnificent mosques such as Chahār Angul Masjid (Figure 57, p. 208 below), Jhanjri Masjid and some other buildings.¹⁸

Second Phase of Wars with Kalpi

The decade of tranquillity came to an end when Qadir Shah who had already recaptured the fort of Iraj, again became oppressive and unfriendly. This compelled the Sharqi Sultan to march against him in early 831/1427. Qadir Shah became frightened and sought military help from Delhi where Sultan Mubarak Shah (1421-34) of the Sayyid dynasty, was in power. At this moment Sultan Mubarak Shah was away to Bayana on a military campaign. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi writes that Mubarak Shah immediately rushed to help Qadir Shah. Meanwhile, the Sharqi troops attacked and captured Bhongaon (now in Mainpuri district) and marched to Bada'un. Ibrahim also deputed a large force under Mukhtas Khan, his brother, in order to face the Delhi army. Mukhtas Khan soon reached Etawah. On the other hand, Sultan Mubarak Shah reached near Aligarh and ransacked the villages of Jatrauli and Atrauli. From there the Delhi ruler dispatched his general, Mahmud Hasan with 10,000 horsemen to oppose Mukhtas Khan. But the latter lost courage to fight and returned to the main Sharqi army with Sultan Ibrahim.¹⁹

Sultan Ibrahim now planned to attack the Delhi army. He marched with his army and came near Burhanabad, situated close to modern Etawah. On the other hand Sultan Mubarak Shah, moved from his encampment at Atrauli and reached near Mali Kotah where Ibrahim also reached and an initial fighting took place in Jamadi II, 831/February-March 1427. Finding himself outnumbered in military

strength, Ibrahim fled and retired to Kaithar. Mubarak Shah chased him and reached very close to Kaithar and encamped at Chandwar. After initial skirmishes Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi finally attacked the Delhi army. Both the armies fought till evening on Jamadi II, 831/24 March 1428. As both the armies suffered heavy losses both sides withdrew their camps. Ibrahim Sharqi returned to Jaunpur. Sultan Mubarak Shah finally reached Delhi by Sha'ban, 831/June 1428.²⁰

When Qadir Shah, the ruler of Kalpi, died in 1432 his second son, Jalal Khan (1432-9) came to power with the support of the nobles. Qadir Shah's eldest son, Zaghbir Khan A'zam Humayun challenged the succession and sought the help of Ibrahim Shah. A'zam Humayun went to Jaunpur where he was welcomed by Sultan Ibrahim who gave him respects and conferred upon him the title of *Khan-i Jahan*. Jalal Khan, on account of being weak and ease-loving, neglected the affairs of the state. In such condition, some of his own nobles turned against him. He was imprisoned and sent to his uncle, Sultan Hoshang Shah, the ruler of Malwa where he got a jagir at Chanderi. Firuz Khan, a powerful noble now succeeded him at Kalpi. Having come to know these developments Ibrahim Shah along with Zaghbir Khan A'zam Humayun marched from Jaunpur. On arriving at Kalpi the Jaunpur army besieged Mahmudabad, the capital of Kalpi. The siege continued for three months. Soon Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa marched to Mahmudabad along with his nephew Jalal Khan. Having come to know the advance of the Malwa ruler Sultan Ibrahim immediately raised the siege and, crossing the Jamuna, encamped opposite the city. On his arrival Sultan Hoshang was honourably received by the Kalpi Wazir, Nizam Khan. Hoshang Shah reinstalled Jalal Khan as the ruler of Kalpi in a befitting manner. Firuz Khan is no more heard of. Perhaps he was killed. Ibrahim Shah as a gesture of support and courtesy gave the fort of Shahpur to Zaghbir Khan A'zam Humayun. It is notable that this fort originally belonged to Kalpi but later it was captured by Ibrahim Shah. Now Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur as has been narrated by Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the sole chronicler of these events.²¹

But Jalal Khan could not pacify his nobles, some of whom openly opposed his ill-treatment of them. He arrested some of the prominent nobles like Nizam Khan and Ya'qub Khan while 'Umar Khan got

murdered. In such condition some of the nobles left for Jaunpur and sought the help of Sultan Ibrahim who received them cordially. Learning of this development, Hoshang Shah again marched to Kalpi where he took along with him Jalal Khan, and shortly reached Mardanpur where Sultan Ibrahim was already encamped. Here a battle took place and both sides suffered heavy losses. Both desired to avoid prolong battle. Sultan Hoshang Shah left Jalal Khan at Mahmudabad and returned to Malwa.²²

But on the retreat of Hoshang Shah, Sultan Ibrahim lost no time and rapidly marched back, and once again besieged the city of Mahmudabad. Finding their position weak and precarious, Mubarak Khan, the wazir of Kalpi and some other nobles joined Sultan Ibrahim. Jalal Khan fled with his horsemen. Mahmudabad fell to the hands of the Sharqi Sultan, who installed Zakhir Khan A'zam Humayun as the ruler of Kalpi. But the latter could not adjust himself in new role and shortly abdicated in favour of his brother Jalal Khan who was soon re-enthroned. Ibrahim Shah now reconciled with Jalal Khan and sent him a robe of honour and valuable presents.²³

Expedition to Delhi and Matrimonial Alliance with the Delhi Ruler

In Delhi, after Mubarak Shah's death his brother's son Muhammad bin Farid ascended the throne and started calling himself Sultan Muhammad Shah (1434-45). However, his weak position encouraged Ibrahim Sharqi who marched to Delhi with a large army via Gwalior, where some local chiefs submitted and offered him tributes. On his way he captured some of the *parganas* of Delhi and finally besieged the capital city. Sultan Muhammad Shah, in view of his weak position, avoided an open battle and followed diplomacy. In order to establish peace he preferred to enter into a matrimonial alliance. His sister, Bibi Raji was married to Sultan Ibrahim's son, Mahmud Khan. This was a great diplomatic measure for both sides. The Jaunpur king treated this as a glorious bloodless victory.²⁴ Bibi Raji played a vital role in subsequent history of Jaunpur and is also credited for constructing a madrasah and a mosque. The famous

Lal Darwaza mosque in Jaunpur is said to have been built on her initiative in 1450.

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi fell ill and died in 844/1440 as is established from the evidences of some Persian chroniclers as well as his last dated coins with this year.²⁵

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was a strong and powerful ruler. He firmly established the sultanate rule in Jaunpur. During his able rule of about 40 years Ibrahim Shah found time to consolidate his political and economic position. When he ascended the throne he was surrounded by enemies on all sides. The neighbouring kingdoms of Bengal and Delhi were far more powerful and the local chieftains were looking for an opportunity to become free of subordination. Though he waged wars and fought with almost all his neighbouring powers; he was cautious enough not to make any of them his sworn and permanent enemy. His statesmanship is well reflected in his dealings with the local chiefs such as those of Tirhut and Ujjainia Rajputs. He subjugated them yet he secured their loyal support which continued during the time of his successors too. He got victory over Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa and became successful in securing the vassalage of Kalpi. Much more important was his matrimonial alliances with the rulers of Bengal and Delhi that further strengthened his position and displayed his political and diplomatic acumen. Sultan Ibrahim was thus able to consolidate and expand the boundaries of his kingdom as a result of which his economic and revenue resources also swelled. This enabled him to spend on promotion of art, architecture, literature and other peaceful pursuits. His benevolence and patronage attracted many scholars from various corners of India and abroad to Jaunpur. Prominent sufi saints like Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal, Sayyid 'Usman Shirazi, Makhdum 'Isa Taj Chishti, Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Khwaja Abul Fath Sombras, Shaikh Husam-ud Din Manikpuri, Shah Madār, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Radaulwi and Shah 'Abdullah Shattari and 'Ulama such as Qazi Abdul Muqtadir, Maulana Khwajgi, Malik-u'l-Qazi Shihab-ud Din and Maulana Ilāh Dad Muhashshi visited and settled in Jaunpur which began to be called India's cultural capital or *Shiraz-i Hind* or the Shiraz of India. It is notable that Shiraz is famous city of

Persia and Hafiz Shirazi, the great Persian poet belonged to this city. It was the cultural capital of Persia.

Muhammad Bihamid Khani, Nur-u'l-Haqq, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi and some other chroniclers have praised him for his justice, benevolence, and bravery. He was a great patron of learning and loved the company of scholars, *sufis* and saints. He also gave liberal patronage and support to artists. Muhammad Sadiq, the author of *Subh-i Sadiq* says that he was considerate towards his servants and took good care of them. He also enquired into the affairs of the poor and destitute.²⁶ *Subh-i Sadiq* notes:

Mubarak Shah yak-sāl wa chand māh hukumat kard wa dar arba' wa thamanmayah dar guzasht. Wa b'ād az woo berādrash Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi ba-saltanat rasid wa woo badshah 'alim wa fāzil būd wa 'ulma ra ihterām farmudi wa az hāl-i fuqra wa masākin khabar girafte. Qazi Shahab-ud Din Jaunpuri Hashiya-i Hindi wa Tafṣīr Bahr-ul mauwwāj wa Irshād wa Fatāwa-i Ibrahim Shabi ba-nām-i woo nawishta goyand. Waqti qasri sakht chun ba-atmām rasid shab-i shunīd ke yaki ba-yaki mi-guft qasr Sultan tamām shud aknun ba-mazdūr ihtiyaji nist wajh-i ma' āsh-i ma az kuja ba-dast khwahad āmad. Digar roz Sultan amr kard ta qasr ra kharāb kardand wa digar bār bunyād nihadand. (Muhammad Sadiq, *Subh-i Sadiq*, ff. 1769A, 1769B)

مبارکشاه یکسال و چند ماه حکومت کرد و در اربع و ثمانماه در گذشت. و بعد از و برادرش سلطان ابراهیم شرقی بسلطنت رسید و او بادشاه عالم و فاضل بود و علما را احترام فرمودی و از حال فقرا و مساکین خبر گرفت. قاضی شهاب الدین جونپوری حاشیه بندی و تفسیر بحرالمواج و ارشاد و فتاوی ابراهیم شابی بنام او نوشته گویند. وقتی قصری ساخت چون باتمام رسید شبی شنید که یکی یکی میگفت قصر سلطان تمام شد اکنون بездور احتیاجی نیست وجه معاش ما از کجا بدست خواهد آمد. دیگر روز سلطان امر کرد تا قصر را خراب کردند و دیگر بار بنیاد نهادند.

Mubarak Shah ruled for one year and few months and in [AH] 804 passed away. And after him his brother Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi reached the power and he was a learned and scholar king and he gave regards to the intellectuals and took care of the poor and needy. Qazi Shahab-ud Din Jaunpuri *Hashiya-i Hindi* and *Tafṣīr Bahr-ul mauwwāj* and *Irshād wa Fatāwa-i Ibrahim Shabi* wrote in his honour. Once he built a palace. When it was at the point of completion one night he heard one labourer telling the other that the palace of the king is now complete, now he would not need our service, how would we now earn our livelihood? The next day, the king gave order to dismantle the palace and re-build it laying new the foundation.

Ibrahim Sharqi's Interests in Music

Ibrahim Sharqi took keen interests in music. *Sangitasiromani*, in Sanskrit, which was composed at Kara near Allahabad by an anonymous author in vs 1485 (AD 1428), informs us that a large library on music and dance was raised at Kara where a conference on music was organized which was presided over by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi himself. It was attended by musicians and artists from all over India. At the conference, the Sultan requested them to compose a work on music after due deliberation, discussion and the settlement of differences between the various older schools. Their combined effort produced the large work in music, *Sangitasiromani*.²⁷ This shows how Ibrahim Sharqi possessed deep cultural traits and promoted the popular subjects like music which had wider appeal in the elite and the masses. Details about *Sangitasiromani* and Sharqi sultanate's contribution to Indian music is discussed in chapter 6 in this book.

Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi (1440-57)

After Ibrahim Shah's death, his son Mahmud Shah immediately succeeded him in 844/1440. Mahmud inherited a large and stable kingdom. He was as ambitious as his father. Saeed claims that Mahmud Sharqi's first political venture was his Bengal invasion. But we have shown above that a second invasion of Bengal was also planned by Ibrahim Sharqi and not his son Mahmud.

Wars with Kalpi

In 847/1443 Mahmud got the news that the town of Shahpur, which was larger and more populous than Mahmudabad, had been devastated by Nasir Khan, the son of Qadir Shah, the ruler of Kalpi and that he was involved in atrocities upon the Muslims of the place. This impelled Mahmud to attack Nasir Khan. But before his march against him he sent an ambassador to Malwa with valuable presents and taking the ruler of Malwa into his confidence, sought

his permission for military action against Kalpi as Nasir Khan had a nominal alliance with Malwa. Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa bestowed upon the Sharqi ambassador a robe of honour and the customary *nazrana*. He also gave his nod for military action against Nasir Khan. On receiving a positive reply Mahmud became pleased and sent twenty-nine elephants as present to the Malwa ruler.²⁸

Now Mahmud marched against Nasir Khan with a large army. Nasir Khan could not withstand the onslaught and fled to Chanderi which was then a part of Kalpi. As a vassal of Malwa, Nasir Khan complained Sultan Mahmud Khalji against the Sharqi Sultan's atrocities, tyranny and attack on Kalpi²⁹ In response to this, Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent an ambassador, 'Ali Khan, with fine presents to Mahmud Sharqi with the message that Nasir Khan had repented of his evil acts and had promised to be righteous in future, Kalpi should be restored to him. The Malwa ruler had not yet received the reply of Mahmud Sharqi, when the former received another complaint from Nasir Khan against the Sharqi monarch. On Nasir Khan's humble submission Mahmud Khalji marched with a large army on the 2 Sha'ban 848/8 January 1444 to capture Mahmudabad. Nasir Khan also joined him at Chanderi. Mahmud Sharqi who was now in Mahmudabad advanced with a large army and reached Iraj where he secured the support of Mubarak Khan, son of Junaid Khan, the local *jagirdar*. They encamped in the narrow pass, near the banks of the Jamuna and both the armies fought till evening and then returned to their respective camps at nightfall. But in a second military engagement near the village of Rath the Sharqis were defeated. Soon both the armies engaged for a third time in the same area each side having heavy losses of lives. As there was no sign of war ending, Mahmud Sharqi sought the help of Shaikh-u'l-Islam Shaikh Ja'ilda, a local sufi to interfere for peace. Mahmud Sharqi also sent an emissary to Nasir Khan and agreed to hand over the town of Rath to him. He also promised to return him the town of Iraj and other parts of Kalpi after the return of Mahmud Khalji to Malwa. On the interference of Shaikh Ja'ilda, Mahmud Khalji accepted the proposals on condition that Mahmud Sharqi would not interfere with Nasir Khan in future and after four months he would hand over Kalpi and other captured

towns to him. After this agreement the Malwa ruler went back to Mandu and Sultan Mahmud Sharqi returned to Jaunpur. Mahmud Sharqi celebrated his safe return to his capital by generously bestowing rich presents to nobles and scholars.³⁰

March against Chunar

During the third and fourth years of his accession Mahmud Sharqi spent his energies in consolidating his position by suppressing the rebellious chiefs in the neighbourhood of Chunar as has been mentioned by Nizam-ud Din and Farishta. It is notable that the fort of Chunar was very strong and its possession meant a strong foothold in the region. The rebellious chiefs were forced to submit and some were even put to death and in their territories he appointed his own *muqtas* and revenue collectors.³¹

March against Orissa

According to Nizam-ud Din, after his Chunar campaign Mahmud Sharqi marched with his army against Orissa. He advanced into the country of Orissa and after much plunder returned with an enormous booty. Farishta has also recorded something similar. But we have not found any other details or evidences to corroborate the passing references of these two historians. During Mahmud Shah's reign Kapilendra Deva (1434-66), the powerful ruler of Orissa and founder of the Gajapati dynasty came to the throne. So a big campaign against Orissa is not believable. However, since Orissa was famed for elephants which were greatly valued in those days for military purposes, most of the Muslim rulers of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries turned to Orissa for securing elephants for their armies. Perhaps Mahmud might have made a military excursion to some outer fringes of Orissa and captured some elephants which Nizam-ud Din and Farishta eulogized.³² Some historians, however contend that undertaking a long and arduous journey from Jaunpur to Orissa just for the sake of tributes or booty is not tenable.³³

Invasion of Delhi

The situation in Delhi was very fluid during the rule of the last Sayyid ruler 'Ala-ud Din 'Alam Shah (1445-51), who was the brother-in-law of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. 'Ala-ud Din 'Alam Shah mostly lived in Bada'un and Delhi was in the charge of nobles like Hamid Khan and Hisham Khan. Both of them attempted to capture power at Delhi. Hamid Khan is said to have even entered the *harem* of the Sultan and drove out the ladies and family members from the citadel and also seized the treasures. 'Ala-ud Din 'Alam rushed to Delhi but due to heavy rains he could not immediately reach Delhi. Meanwhile, Hamid Khan lost no time and immediately invited Bahlol Lodi from Sirhind to capture the throne of Delhi. Bahlol Lodi dashed to Delhi with a large force and after negotiating with Hamid Khan, occupied the Delhi fort (old) on 17th Rabi'I, 855/16 April 1451. But very soon Bahlol Lodi imprisoned Hamid Khan and ascended to the throne of Delhi.³⁴

'Ala-ud Din 'Alam's sister Bibi Raji, who was Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's wife became disturbed when she came to know this and persuaded her husband to invade Delhi. In the meanwhile some nobles of 'Ala-ud Din 'Alam secretly went to Jaunpur and invited Sultan Mahmud Sharqi to invade Delhi immediately. This emboldened Mahmud who set out for Delhi in 856/1452 with a huge army which is said to have consisted of 170,000 cavalry and foot-soldiers and 1,400 war elephants.³⁵

On arriving in Delhi, Mahmud Sharqi besieged the fort. Khwaja Bayazid, son of Sultan Bahlol, Bibi Matto, the widow of Sultan Shah Lodi and Bahlol's mother-in-law, with their kinsmen and some other nobles were inside the fort. As there were few soldiers in the fort, Bibi Matto played a trick to deceive the enemy. She clad some women in men's attire and stationed them on the parapets of the fort in order to give the enemy a false show of numbers. The Afghan archers also started shooting arrows at the Sharqi army. But these had no effect as the siege was protracted and strong. The Afghans now played a second trick and approached for peace. They agreed to hand over the fort and the city to the Sharqi Sultan, and the Afghan force agreed to retreat immediately. Sayyid Shams-ud Din, one of the nobles of Delhi, brought the keys of the fort to hand over to Darya Khan

Lodi, the Sharqi commander. But before giving the key he said to him: 'The keys of the fort are here, but as a Lodi noble, you should not disrespect and dishonour your own Lodi women who have taken shelter in the fort and who are just like your own mothers and sisters.' Darya Khan, who was a Lodi Afghan, became emotional and returned the keys. He convinced Mahmud Sharqi to prepare to face Sultan Bahlol who had set out for Delhi.³⁶

Having come to know of these developments Sultan Bahlol hurriedly returned from Bada'un and encamped at Narela, situated about 17 miles from Delhi. He appealed the other Afghan chiefs to support him. Mahmud Sharqi sent a large army of 30,000 cavalry and 30 elephants under Darya Khan Lodi and Fath Khan Harawi to fight against Bahlol. This army also soon reached Narela and encamped there. One day some of the Sharqi camels and bullocks were seized by the Lodi troops. This triggered the battle between the two armies. Sharqi army could not withstand. The Sharqi commander, Fath Khan Harawi withdrew from the battlefield but he was soon caught and beheaded. Another Sharqi Commander, Darya Khan Lodi was again emotionally trapped by Qutb Khan Lodi, the Afghan Commander who asked him to leave the battlefield in order to protect the honour of the Afghan ladies. Darya Khan Lodi fled from the battlefield. His betrayal became the reason for the colossal defeat of the Sharqi army.³⁷

The defeated Sharqi army now returned to join Sultan Mahmud Sharqi who was still engaged in the siege of Delhi. The arrival of the defeated army created confusion in the Sharqi camp. When Bibi Matto came to know of these developments she gave order to beat the drums of conquest. This puzzled Sultan Mahmud who was already disappointed due to his army's route at Narela and murder of Fath Khan. He had now two choices either to surrender or to retrace. He preferred the second and returned to Jaunpur. It is notable here that Bibi Matto, the Lodi harem played a key role for the victory of the Lodis. She did not only play clever tricks she became able to garner the support of the prominent Afghan nobles like Darya Khan Lodi and made him defect the Sharqi army on two occasions. On the other hand, Mahmud Sharqi failed to notice this trick and cleverly defection of his own military commander. Mahmud Sharqi also lacked statesmanship.

Campaign against the Ujjainias of Bhojpur

We have mentioned earlier that after the death of the Ujjainiya chief Jagdeo, his successor Sangram Deo continued his guerrilla attacks on Jaunpur's local chiefs till Ibrahim Sharqi's death in 1440, after which the Ujjainiya chief Sangram Deo came down from the hills and occupied Bhojpur and made Dawa, situated between Bikrampur and Dumraon in modern Bhojpur district, his seat of power. After his death in vs 1510 (1453-4), his son Ishwari Singh, succeeded him. But Ishwari Singh was a pleasure-loving prince. His lack of interest in administration threw his autonomous fiefdom into total confusion. When Sultan Mahmud Sharqi came to know of the disorder prevailing there, he immediately sent a force to conquer the Ujjainiya stronghold. Ishwari Singh fled to the forests, but the Sharqi soldiers ultimately managed to capture and kill him. Dawa, the Ujjainiya's capital was now occupied by the Jaunpur Sultan who appointed his *muqta* there and returned to Jaunpur. But the Ujjainiyas continuously engaged in guerrilla attacks on the Jaunpur soldiers till Mahmud Sharqi's death in 1457. All these military engagements of Jaunpur army with Ujjainiya Rajputs took place in and around the present Bhojpur district of Bihar and the eastern parts of present-day Uttar Pradesh, and not in Rewa or Ujjain (Malwa) as has been mentioned by Saeed.³⁸

Second War between the Sharqi and the Lodi

Delhi army had become victorious by the clever tricks of Bibi Matto but Bahlol Lodi could not forget the valour with which the Sharqi army had fought and besieged Delhi. He planned to attack the Sharqis in near future in order to take revenge and to cripple the Sharqi military power. First he organized his administration and tried to recover the lost territories. He also subdued Ahmad Khan, the governor of Mewat, Darya Khan of Sambhal and Rai Partap, the chief of Bhongaon (now in modern Mainpuri). He captured Rapri (now in modern Shikohabad) and from there he moved to Etawah. He expelled the Sharqi *muqta* from there in 1455 and registered his first victory over the Sharqis. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was keenly

watching these developments but the capture of Etawah enraged him. He marched with his army and encamped near Etawah. But no side preferred a long and fierce battle. After one day's indecisive battle they agreed for peace through the mediation of Qutb Khan Lodi and Rai Partap on the following terms:

1. Bahlol agreed to return the seven elephants of the Sharqi army captured in the battle of Narela.
2. Bahlol Lodi and Mahmud Sharqi agreed to retain territorial possession as had existed during the time of Ibrahim Sharqi and Sayyid Mubarak Shah of Delhi.
3. Shamsabad (now in Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh) which was under the control of Juna Khan, a Sharqi governor, would be handed over to Bahlol Lodi.³⁹

This peace treaty, however, did not last long. Enmity began afresh between the two rulers in 861/1456-7 over the issue of Shamsabad which was to be handed over to Bahlol Lodi. When Bahlol did not get the territory he marched with his army and captured Shamsabad from Juna Khan, the Sharqi governor and appointed Rai Karan as his own governor there. Juna Khan immediately informed about this to Sultan Mahmud who rapidly marched upon Shamsabad and attacked Rai Karan. Darya Khan Lodi and Qutb Khan Lodi made a surprise nocturnal attack on the Sharqis. Qutb Khan, fell from his horse. He was captured and sent to Jaunpur where he remained in captivity for seven months and was finally released when Husain Shah Sharqi came to power. On the other hand, Rai Karan defended the Shamsabad fort. Bahlol Lodi soon reinforced Rai Karan by sending princes Jalal Khan and Sikandar Khan. Bahlol himself marched upon Sultan Mahmud's camp. But Sultan Mahmud suddenly fell ill and died in 862/1457. This followed a peace treaty between Bahlol Lodi and Muhmud Sharqi's son and successor, prince Bhikan Khan, and the Sharqi queen, Bibi Raji.⁴⁰

Some chroniclers have hailed Mahmud Sharqi as a noble king of high dignity. Farishta has remarked that he managed the affairs of his country with great wisdom. Other chroniclers like Nur-u'l Haqq and Nizam-ud Din Ahmad have also praised him for his bounty, sagacity,

cultural and artistic tastes. Mahmud liked to spend his time in the company of *sufis* and the *‘ulama*. Works of great scholarship were produced during his reign.⁴¹

Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, like his father, was fond of art and architecture. This is evidenced by the beautiful buildings, palaces and magnificent mosques built in different parts of his kingdom. His capital, Jaunpur, was also adorned during this period with beautiful mosques, distinguished among them being the Lal Darwazah Masjid (Ruby Gate Mosque). Adjacent to it was the magnificent palace of his favourite queen, Bibi Raji, which was also completed at the same time. Three Arabic inscriptions of Mahmud have been found from Bihar. The earliest one dated Rajab 1, 847 (25 October 1443) records the construction of a Jāma mosque by a pious man Sayyid Ajmal who is called in the inscription as *Sadr-i jahan* at the instance of Malik-ush Sharq, Nasir, the son of Baha, who was the *muqta* or governor of Khitta of Bihar in the reign of Mahmud Sharqi in 847/1443-4. This inscription was found on a mosque at Mohalla Choti Takia in Bihar Sharif and presently it is preserved in the Indian Museum, Kolkata.⁴² The *sufi* work *Maktubat-i Quddusia* informs us that Sayyid Ajmal was the *wazir* of Mahmud Sharqi. He was a reputed Islamic scholar of his time and was also the *khalifa* of the famous medieval saint Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht (1308-84), buried at Uchh, Pakistan, South Asia.⁴³ Two other inscriptions were also discovered from Mohalla Paharpur in Bihar Sharif. Both are dated 27 Ramzan 859 (10 September 1455) and both record the construction of Jāma mosque respectively. But the last one records the name of Nasir, the son of Baha as the *muqta* of the *shiqq* of Bihar during the reign of Mahmud Shah. Qeyamuddin Ahmad has expressed the view that the terms *khitta* and *shiqq* used in the inscriptions here ‘had been used, rather loosely, as inter-changeables’.⁴⁴

Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi (1457-8)

Muhammad Shah Sharqi also known as Bhikan Khan was the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. After the sudden death of Mahmud the Sharqi amirs and queen Bibi Raji crowned Muhammad Shah as the Sultan. Saeed has claimed that he had been nominated for

succession by his father and his coins prove this. But none of his pre-accession issue is known anywhere. Sultan Muhammad Shah preferred his first task to make peace with the Delhi Sultan Bahlol Lodi. His mother Bibi Raji also supported him for this. Bahlol agreed to hold on what was in his possession and Muhammad Sharqi consented to be satisfied with the territories which remained in his hands.⁴⁵

Muhammad's succession was undisputed but his tyrannical nature alienated his brothers, Hasan Khan, Husain Khan, Jalal Khan and Qutb Khan as well as some of his nobles. His mother Bibi Raji who had proposed his succession, also turned against him. After reaching Jaunpur he had imprisoned Hasan Khan as well as Qutb Khan who were suspected of rebellion. He also put to death some of the nobles. All this made him very unpopular.⁴⁶

After concluding peace, Bahlol Lodi had hardly reached the vicinity of Delhi when he learnt of the imprisonment of Hasan Khan. His wife, Shams Khatun who was a sister of Qutb Khan Lodi who was in prison at Jaunpur since the time of Mahmud Sharqi, became worried due to Muhammad Sharqi's tyrannical nature. She impelled her husband to take action against Muhammad Sharqi. Bahlol immediately marched to Jaunpur against the Sharqi Sultan. On the other hand, Muhammad also moved with his army to oppose Bahlol. When he reached Shamsabad he expelled Rai Karan, its governor, and appointed Juna Khan as his own *muqta* there. Rai Partap, the chief of Etawah, being attracted by Sultan Muhammad's success, also joined hands with the ruler of Jaunpur. Finally he encamped his army at Sirsuti that is located near Shikohabad. Bahlol also reached with his army at Rapri that was situated very close to Sirsuti. In the initial skirmishes Muhammad received setbacks due to dissension among his nobles. In such a condition he decided to iron out the dissension and sent an order to his *kotwal* at Jaunpur to kill his brothers Hasan Khan and Qutb Khan. But due to interference of their mother, queen Bibi Raji, the order could not be implemented. Muhammad now played a trick to move her from Jaunpur. He persuaded her to join him in order to make a settlement between him and Hasan Khan for giving the latter a part of the kingdom. As soon as she left Jaunpur Hasan Khan was killed by the *kotwal*. Bibi Raji heard this sad news

on her way to Qannauj. On reaching Qannauj she performed the mourning ceremonies of her deceased son. She became disgusted when she received there a taunting letter from Muhammad to mourn for her other sons too who would be killed soon.⁴⁷

These developments aggravated conspiracy and dissension in Sultan Muhammad's camp. Two of his brothers Husain Khan and Jalal Khan, who were also in the camp, and the nobles became alarmed. They developed a stratagem and spread the rumour that Sultan Bahlol was contemplating a sudden night-attack and for the sake of safety they induced Muhammad Shah to leave at their disposal 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. Muhammad Shah did accordingly and this army encamped close to the banks of river Jharna, a tributary of the Jamuna, near Shahdara, after passing through Bulandshahr and Aligarh districts. Prince Jalal Khan who had been left behind was also summoned through a messenger. Husain Khan and Sultan Shah, a prominent Sharqi noble, moved with their forces towards Qannauj where they joined Bibi Raji. Jalal Khan was mistakenly not informed of this move. Meanwhile Bahlol marched with an army against Muhammad Sharqi and reached near the river Jharna. Soon Jalal Khan reached there but he was arrested by Bahlol. On the other hand, Muhammad Shah, on becoming aware of the defection of his brothers, marched to Qannauj.⁴⁸

In Qannauj, Husain Khan along with some Sharqi *amirs* and Bibi Raji together now decided to eliminate Muhammad Sharqi. They proclaimed Husain Khan as the next ruler of Jaunpur. Husain Khan declared himself the king and struck coins in his name in 862/1457 and called himself Husain Shah.⁴⁹ By that time Muhammad reached Qannauj and encamped on the banks of the river Ganges near the ford of Rajgir, 3 miles south-east of Qannauj. Soon some of Muhammad Sharqi's nobles deserted him and joined Husain Khan. Finding himself unsafe and left with only a few horsemen, Muhammad fled and hid in a nearby garden to save his life. Husain Khan's soldiers chased him. Muhammad Sharqi who was a master archer took up his bow and arrows to challenge his enemies but he found the heads of his arrows removed. This was cleverly done by Bibi Raji who had already bribed Sultan Muhammad's bodyguard for this job. Now Sultan Muhammad drew his sword and began to fight boldly but an

arrow shot by Mubarak Gung, a loyal noble of Husain Khan, killed him. He was buried at Dalmau near Rae Bareilly.⁵⁰

After the elimination of Muhammad Sharqi, his brother and successor Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi made peace with the Delhi ruler Bahlol Lodi who was now in a better position as Rai Pratap, the chief of Etawah, who had earlier joined hands with Muhammad, was also to the side of Sultan Bahlol. A peace treaty was signed between Husain Sharqi and Bahlol Lodi. Both parties agreed to return their respective prisoners of war and signed a truce to remain contented with their existing territorial possessions for the next four years. Sultan Husain ordered for the release of Qutb Khan Lodi and bestowed upon him a robe of honour and a horse and sent him back to Bahlol honourably. In the same manner Sultan Bahlol freed Jalal Khan and asked him to go back to Jaunpur. Husain then returned to Jaunpur and Bahlol to Delhi.⁵¹ Thus came to an end the inglorious rule of Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi.

NOTES

1. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 171; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 275; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, pp. 272-3; *Farishta*, II, p. 592. Sujan Rai mistakenly called him as the adopted son of Malik Sarwar.
2. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36.
3. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 174-5; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 261, and III, p. 277; *Farishta*, I, p. 290; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 273.
4. *CHB*, II (I), p. 213.
5. Babu Ram Saxena, *Kirtilata*, Kashi: Nagriparcharini Sabha, 1929, pp. 17-20, 56-71.
6. Ilyas Rahmani, 'Ahd-i Islamiya mein Darbhanga par ek majmu'i nazar', *Ma'asir* (Urdu Monthly), Patna, May-June 1949, p. 98; Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic & Persian Inscriptions of Bihar (A.H. 640-1200)*, Patna: KPJRI, 1973, pp. 77-8; *CHB*, II (I), pp. 216-17.
7. H. K. Prasad, 'Coin-Hoards from Bihar', *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. VIII, pts. I-II, 1970, pp. 45-109.
8. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 176; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 277; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 275.
9. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 176; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 262; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, pp. 275-6; *Farishta*, I, p. 291.

10. A. Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1971 rpt., p. 33; *District Gazetteer Jaunpur*, Allahabad, 1908, p. 238.
11. *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 449b.
12. Qazi Khan Badr Muhammad, *Adāt-ul Fuzala* Ms. AMU, Aligarh, University collection, Farisa Lughat, 5; Iqtadar Alam Khan, *Gunpowder and Firearms: Warfare in Medieval India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 211-12, 215-16.
13. *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, ff. 450b, 450a; Saeed, p. 49.
14. *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, ff. 452a-b; Saeed, p. 50.
15. Syed Ejaz Hussain, *The Bengal Sultanate: Politics, Economy and Coins (AD 1205-1576)*, Delhi: Manohar, 2003, pp. 104-11; Syed Hasan Askari, "New Light on Raja Ganesh and Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur from Contemporary Correspondence of Two Muslim Saints", *BPP*, LXVII, 1948, pp. 32-9.
16. *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, ff. 427a-b; 'Abdur Razzaq, *Matla' u's-Sa'dain*, ed. Md. Shafi, Lahore, 1942, vol. II, pp. 782-3; *HB* (Stewart), pp. 96-9; Saeed, pp. 64-5; *The Bengal Sultanate: Politics, Economy and Coins (AD 1205-1576)*, pp. 115-20.
17. Sukhomoy Mukhopadhyay, *Vangalar Itihas Du-so Bachar: Swadhin Sultander Amal (1338-1538)*, Kolkata: Bharati Book Stall, 1988, 4th edn., pp. 115-19.
18. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 207; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 275; *Mirat-i Jahan Numa*, f. 312b; *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 170; Farishta, II, pp. 595-8; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 12; Saeed, pp. 52-3.
19. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 207; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 278; Farishta, I, p. 301; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, pp. 292-3; Saeed, pp. 54-5.
20. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 209-12; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 277-8; Farishta, I, p. 302; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 293; Saeed, pp. 55-6.
21. *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, ff. 456-7.
22. *Ibid.*, f. 457b.
23. *Ibid.*, ff. 458-9.
24. Tahir Muhammad Sabzwari, ff. 606-7; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 19; Saeed, p. 60.
25. *Tarikh-i Haqqi*, f. 59b; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 13; Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001, p. 345.
26. Muhammad Sadiq, *Subh-i Sadiq*, ff. 1769A, 1769B, Persian Ms. n. HL 25, KBOPL, Patna.
27. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, 'Hindu Music Under a Sultan', *JAHS*, vol. XI, pts. 3&4, 1938, p. 175; Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1955, p. 33 (Ms. no. 1713).

28. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp. 279, 326; Farishta, II, p. 596; Nur-u'l Haqq, f. 374b; A. Baqi, I, p. 101; Tahir Sabzwari, f. 690b; Saeed, pp. 65-6.
29. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 280; Farishta, II, p. 596.
30. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp. 281-3; Farishta, II, pp. 597-8.
31. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 283; Farishta, II, p. 598; Saeed, pp. 68-9..
32. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 283; Farishta, II, p. 595; Nur-u'l Haqq, f. 375a.
33. *CHB*, II(I), p. 217.
34. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 293-7; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 20; Saeed, pp. 270-2.
35. *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 13; Saeed, p. 72.
36. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 301-2; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 13; Farishta, I, pp. 321-2; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 7; Ni'matullah, ff. 64-5.
37. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 301; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 15; Farishta, I, p. 321; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 8; Ni'matullah, f. 65a; Saeed, pp. 73-5.
38. *CHB*, II(I), p. 213; Saeed, p. 75.
39. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 301-2; Farishta, I, pp. 321-2 and II, p. 598; Ni'matullah, f. 65a; Saeed, pp. 75-6.
40. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 303; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 16; Farishta, I, pp. 323 and II, pp. 598-9; Ni'matullah, f. 65a; Saeed, pp. 76-7.
41. Farishta, II, p. 595; Nur-u'l Haqq, f. 374b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp. 278-79; Saeed, pp. 77-8.
42. *CAPIB*, pp. 80-3; *CAPIIMC*, p.12.
43. Abdul Quddus Gangohi, *Maktubat-i Quddusia* (letters compiled by Shaikh Budhan Jaunpuri), Delhi, 1870, p. 131; *CAPIB*, pp. 82-3.
44. *CAPIB*, pp. 83-7.
45. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 303; Farishta, II, p. 595; A. Baqi, I, p. 442; Saeed, p. 78.
46. Farishta, II, p. 595.
47. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 304; Farishta, I, pp. 323-4 and II, p. 599; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 17; Ni'matullah, ff. 65-6; Ahmad Yadgar, pp. 14-15; Saeed, pp. 79-80.
48. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 303-4; Farishta, II, p. 595; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 17; Ni'matullah, f. 66a; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 14; Saeed, p. 81.
49. *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p. 347.
50. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 306; Farishta, II, p. 600; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 18; Ni'matullah, f. 66a; *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 14; A. Fuhrer, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. II (New Series), p. 32; Saeed, pp. 81-2.
51. Ni'matullah, f. 66a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 306-7; Farishta, II, p. 601; Saeed, pp. 81-2.

CHAPTER 3

From Zenith to Fall

An empire founded by war has to maintain itself by war.

CHARLES DE MONTESQUIEU

Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi (1458-94)

The above quote is partly true about the sultanate of Jaunpur. It reached its zenith during the rule of Husain Shah Sharqi and witnessed its fall and end during his time itself. Husain Shah was the greatest and most ambitious ruler of the tiny kingdom. After concluding a peace treaty with Bahlol Lodi in 1458, Husain Shah Sharqi reached Jaunpur. The kingdom had witnessed great anarchy and turmoil during the short reign of Muhammad Shah. Husain Shah's foremost task was to restore law and order and peace. Then he punished the nobles who were found involved in killing his brother, Prince Hasan.¹

Husain Shah's Forays into Tirhut and Orissa

Husain Shah inherited a vast kingdom, the boundaries of which stretched from Kol (modern Aligarh) to Tirhut. As he was ambitious he reorganized his army and led a military forays to Tirhut and to Orissa. He first reached Tirhut and reasserted his power there by levying tribute and then marched to Orissa. Entering the territory, he sent detachments to various parts of the country for the purpose of plunder. The Rai Kapileshwar or Kapilendra Deva (1435-68), who is considered as one of the most powerful rulers of Orissa, as claimed by Nizam-ud Din, the author of *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, could not withstand against the Sharqi power. He finally submitted to him

and prayed for peace by presenting thirty elephants, 100 horses and some other valuable gifts. Sultan Husain then returned to Jaunpur in a victorious mood.² Discovery of a hoard of 71 Sharqi copper coins which include 22 of Husain Shah Sharqi from Bamra in Orissa in 1950 make us believe that Husain Shah marched to Orissa with a huge army. Nizam-ud Din informs that Husain's army consisted of 3,00,000 cavalry and 1,400 elephants.³ This figure was certainly exaggerated. However, it was a large army which might have frightened the ruler of Orissa to avoid a pitched battle and won peace by giving expensive gifts.

Before his next military campaign he took steps for strengthening the defences of his kingdom. He repaired the damaged fortresses in different parts of his dominion including the fort of Benares which he placed under a strong faujdar.⁴ In 871/1466 he sent a strong army to Gwalior and besieged the city. He forced its ruler, Raja Man Singh to pay a large indemnity and to become a vassal.⁵

Wars with Delhi: First Invasion

Husain Shah's four-year truce signed with the Delhi Sultan Bahlol Lodi in 1458 came to an end in 1462. Even before the end of the period of truce Bahlol expelled Juna Khan, the Sharqi governor, from Shamsabad and appointed there his own loyal chief Rai Karan. Sultan Husain treated this as his insult. Since he had consolidated his position both materially and strategically he now planned to attack Delhi. Since Bahlol was at that time away to Multan to put down some political disturbances there,⁶ this was an opportune time for Husain to attack Delhi. In 1468 he marched with a strong army to Delhi. When Bahlol came to know of it he quickly proceeded to Delhi. In the meantime, having been influenced with the growing power of Husain Shah some of Bahlol's nobles like Ahmad Khan Mewati and Rustam Khan, the governor of Koil, joined him. Bahlol shortly reached Delhi and the two sultans met at Chandwar near Agra in 1469. A fierce battle took place. When both sides became exhausted in a week a truce was concluded. For three years both sides agreed to be content with their previous boundaries and returned to their respective capitals.⁷

But Husain Shah was not satisfied with this truce and planned to attack Delhi a second time. Rizqullah Mushtaqi writes in his *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*,

*Bār-i duwām ba jamī'at-o ist'dād tamām khwast ke jihat-i taskhir mulk Delhi ba kumuk mutwajjah gardad. Hamah zamindaran wa rajah-ha ra talbeed wa talab lashkar-hai pragana namūd.*⁸

بار دوم به جمعیت و استعداد تمام خواست که جهت تسخیر ملک دهلی به کمک متوجه گردد۔ همه زمینداران و راجه ها را طلبید و طلب لشکر های پراکنه نمود۔

A second time with his army and complete preparation he desired to move to capture Delhi. All *zamindars* and *rais* were called and asked for troops.

In this way, Husain Shah was able to collect a large army with a *topkhana* (artillery) which was most likely primitive cannons reported to have been used in Agra by Sikandar Lodi also.⁹ In order to strengthen his position, he also won the support of Ahmad Khan Jalwani the governor of Bayana and made some others as his allies.¹⁰ Bahlol also made effort to win some allies to counter the balance and he even invaded Mewat to suppress Ahmad Khan Mewati, a Sharqi ally. But his efforts were not very successful.¹¹ After consolidating his position and making preparations for a second military move against Delhi the Sharqi ruler sought the counselling of his chief noble, Malik Shams. The wise noble advised the king not to make hurry and wait for a year and evolve a long strategy and further supports for a complete success. But Bibi Khunza, the chief queen of Husain did not agree to this suggestion and asked her husband to march against Delhi without delay and seize the throne of her father (Ala-ud Din 'Alam Shah 1445-51). Sultan Husain ignored the advice of his noble, and although the three-year period of the truce was not yet over, he marched to Delhi in early 1469 with 140,000 horsemen and 1,400 war-elephants.¹²

Having come to know about Husain Sharqi's march to Delhi, Sultan Bahlol Lodi hurriedly sent one after the other two emissaries to Malwa seeking military support from Sultan Mahmud Khalji who assured of military help but he died after a month in May 1469.¹³

Meanwhile, Husain Sharqi advanced with his army. He captured one after the other a large part of the Delhi territory including Bulandshahr and Koil (Aligarh). Bahlol offered to conclude peace.

Husain Sharqi, out of vanity, refused it. Bahlol now decided for battle. He advanced from Delhi with his army and encamped in front of Sultan Husain's camp on the opposite bank of the Jamuna. Overconfidence of his military strength Husain Sharqi neglected precautions and preparedness. He often dispersed his army for plundering the neighbouring area, leaving a small number of soldiers in the camp. Taking opportunity of this situation, Bahlol crossed the Jamuna with his army and suddenly attacked the Sharqi camp in the mid-day. As there was not sufficient number of soldiers in Husain's own camp the Sharqi ruler fled to save his life leaving behind his chief queen, Bibi Khunza and other inmates of the *harem* who were made captives but were soon released with honour after Bahlol's victory. In this battle Husain's chief noble and counsellor, Malik Shams was killed.¹⁴

Here there appears some lacuna and misconception. Chroniclers have said that the number of army of Husain Sharqi consisted at least 1,40,000 cavalry and the number of cavalry with Bahlol Lodi was only 1,800 which appears unbelievable. Besides, if Jaunpur army went for plundering or even hunting, could one believe that even ten thousand cavalry was not available in his camp? If 1,30,000 cavalry went for plundering which is quite unexpected and even 10,000 was left, it was five times larger than the Lodi army. Still Husain Sharqi fled in such a humiliating way! It appears that the chroniclers have suppressed the number of army lying with the Delhi ruler and grossly exaggerated the number of the Sharqi army.

Second Invasion on Delhi

This colossal defeat did not dishearten Husain Sharqi. The very next year, i.e. 1471 he again marched to invade Delhi with a strong army consisting of one lakh cavalry and 1,000 elephants; the size of army again appears inflated. His wife the chief queen, Bibi Khunza, encouraged and goaded him for this second invasion. Sultan Bahlol came out to oppose him but the number of his army has not been mentioned by the chroniclers. When the two armies came closer, Bahlol initiated the overture for peace and sent an emissary to Husain. But Husain turned down the offer. Both the army took

positions for battle at Bhatwar, near Bulandshahr. After some skirmishes peace was arranged through the mediation of Khan Jahan Lodi. Bahlol returned to Delhi and Husain went back to Etawah which was supposedly developed as a military camp by the Sharqi ruler on account of its being close to Delhi.¹⁵

Third and Fourth Invasions on Delhi

Husain Sharqi's resources and energy was vast. The size of his army as mentioned by chroniclers and if these figures are literally believed he had perhaps the largest army in India at that time. After a gap of two years he planned to invade Delhi a third time. In 1473 he marched with a strong army against Delhi. On getting this news Bahlol also came out with his army. But the number of their army has not been mentioned by any chronicler. Both the armies met at Sikhera, twenty-five miles from Delhi. Battle started but soon the rainy season set in. So both the parties agreed for peace and returned.¹⁶

Shortly after, Husain's mother, Malika Bibi Raji, passed away. Bibi Raji had keen political insight and was the real counsellor of her son Husain Sharqi. Her death was a great loss for the ruler of Jaunpur. He soon fell into a trap planned by the Lodis. Qutb Khan Lodi, along with Raja Kalyan Mal, the chief of Gwalior were sent to Sultan Husain under the pretext of mourning the death of Bibi Raji. Qutb Khan used flattery and tried to know his further intention towards Delhi.¹⁷

Meanwhile, Husain's father-in-law, Sultan 'Ala-ud Din 'Alam Shah, the fugitive king, who was living at Bada'un, passed away in 1478. Husain went to Bada'un to join in the mourning observation after which he seized Bada'un. This was followed by the capture of Sambhal near modern Moradabad and imprisonment of its chief, Mubarak Khan, son of Tatar Khan.¹⁸ At this time Bahlol was away in Sirhind. Husain found it the right opportune to attack Delhi. He marched with his army to Delhi and encamped on the banks of the Jamuna near the ford of Kachh in the vicinity of Sambhal in Zulhijja 883/ February-March 1478. Having come to know this, Bahlol rushed to Delhi. Very soon he crossed the Jamuna with his army and attacked the Sharqi who were superior in military strength. The battle went

in favour of Husain Sharqi and he was about to win the battle but Qutb Khan Lodi again hatched a plot and sent a missive to Husain begging peace and saying that he had been a slave of his mother, Bibi Raji, who had done him many favours in the past when he was in prison at Jaunpur. Thus invoking his sentiments and emotions Qutb Khan was able to induce the invader to conclude peace and leave Delhi. Husain agreed for peace. The territory to the east of the Ganges remained with him and that of the west with Bahlol. After this agreement Husain one night arranged a convivial party of music and dancing which, according to Muhammad Kabir, was shifted to the bank of Jamuna on Qutb Khan Lodi's suggestion and fell in his trap. When the party was in full swing, Bahlol's army made a sudden and surprise attack on Husain's camp. Husain Sharqi's victory turned into complete rout. His baggage, stores and camp equipments, as well as a large cache of elephants and horses laden with spoils and treasures were captured by Bahlol's army. Husain's seasoned army officers and top nobles like Qazi Sama-ud Din, wazir, who was one of the most learned men of his age, and Budha, the deputy paymaster of the army, and many others were made prisoners. Sultan Husain anyhow escaped. His chief queen, *Malika-i jahan* Bibi Khunza, was again made prisoner, but Bahlol released her shortly afterwards and sent back to Etawah with due honour. Bahlol Lodi became victorious and he captured a number of *parganas* such as Kampil, Patiali, Koil, Shamsabad, Mahrara and Jalali which were till now in possession of Husain Sharqi. He sent strong garrisons for protection of these places and he himself continued pursuit of the Sharqi ruler.

Meanwhile Husain gathered his army and again attacked the Lodis in early 844/1479 at a village called Ram Mahjur in the Rapri *pargana*. This gave a good blow to the Lodis. Ultimately both the monarchs became ready for peace. Both agreed to remain content with their old boundaries.¹⁹

Husain was in fact not content with this arrangement and his ambition to capture Delhi remained alive. Bahlol's treachery had deeply hurt him. So he again collected a huge army and renewed his wars with the Lodis in 885/1480-1. His wife Bibi Khunza was behind him to encourage and incite him in his overtures. The Lodi and the Sharqi armies confronted each other at Sonhar in Etah district. But

Husain again suffered heavy losses and a big defeat. Bahlol plundered his camp and seized military equipments, stores and treasures. Husain retired to Rapri, and Bahlol encamped at Dhopamau.²⁰

The spree of battle did not end here. The next battle took place at Sirsa near Rapri where Husain Sharqi had been camping. Victory over Hussain and plunder of his belongings had swelled Bahlol's power and resources. He now resolved to wipe out his enemy. On the other hand, the continuous defeat did not dishearten Husain Sharqi. He was able to again gather a large army. A severe battle took place in 1482 at Sirsa near Rapri. But Husain was again defeated and had to flee away. In the course of flight while he was crossing the Jamuna some of his family members including his son were drowned. This inflicted him boundless distress and grief. Now he decided to go to Gwalior to seek the help of his old vassal, Raja Kirat Singh. On the way, his camp was attacked by a band of robbers. However, when he reached Gwalior Raja Kirat Singh treated him with honour and offered him a tribute of several lakhs of *tankas* in cash and also military support by way of some troops, horses, elephants and camels.²¹

Meanwhile, Bahlol attacked Etawah in 1482. Husain Sharqi's brother, Ibrahim Khan held the charge of governance there. Ibrahim Khan fought Bahlol's army bravely but had to surrender on the third day. Ibrahim, the son of Mubarak Khan Nuhani was appointed as the governor of Etawah by Bahlol. Bahlol himself now proceeded to attack Husain who was then encamping at Raigaon (now a village in Bilhaur tahsil near Kanpur). Bahlol reached with his army near the village of Raigaon. Skirmishes continued for several months between the two armies without any result as the Ganges flowed between their military camps. However, the situation changed when Raja Tilok Chand, the chief of Baksar (lying 34 miles south-east of Unnao), betrayed him and guided Bahlol to attack Husain from behind. Husain had no option but to flee to Bhata in Rewa. Raja Bhedchandra, the chief of Bhata welcomed him and supported him with money and horses and escorted him back to Jaunpur.²²

Afsana-i Shahan informs us that Sultan Husain did not lose courage and met a famous saint Shaikh Budi and sought his blessings for the future campaign against Bahlol but the Shaikh predicted

his defeat in future. Meanwhile Bahlol continued to chase him. As soon as Husain came to know that Bahlol had reached the vicinity of Jaunpur, he escaped to Qannauj where he collected a big army. Bahlol pursued him. Finally a battle took place between the two armies in 887/1482 on the banks of the Āb-i siyāh or Kālī Nadi, a tributary of the Ganges 10 miles above Qannauj. Husain was again defeated and he again suffered heavy losses including his regalia. His queen, Bibi Khunza, was imprisoned but released later.²³

Bahlol now began to occupy the dependencies of Jaunpur and ultimately he captured Jaunpur also in 888/1483 and appointed Mubarak Khan Nuhani as his governor there. When this news reached Husain, he rushed from Qannauj to Jaunpur with his army. Bahlol who had retired to Delhi immediately sent his son Barbak Shah to defend Jaunpur and very soon he himself arrived there. Husain again fled. Bahlol chased him as far as Haldi, a village in the Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh. At last, Husain Sharqi was allowed to possess a small tract of land around Chunar as his family estate, the income of which was five lakh *tankas* annually. Barbak Shah was now declared as his deputy at Jaunpur. Barbak struck coins in the name of Bahlol from 888 to 894/1483-98 bearing the mint name Shahr Jaunpur. Husain Sharqi's *muqtas* of Dholpur and Bari, also submitted to Bahlol. Kalpi also fell to his hands. Bahlol gave its charge to his grandson, A'zam Humanyun, the son of Bayazid, after which he returned to Delhi.²⁴

Husain Sharqi's Last Offensive against Bahlol Lodi

As soon as Bahlol moved towards Delhi, Husain Sharqi marched to oust Barbak and occupy Jaunpur. He raised a massive army of 30,000 cavalry and sent it under his nephew, Jalal Khan. He himself followed soon. Barbak was attacked and forced to surrender. When Bahlol got this news he turned back to Jaunpur. When he reached Kalpi with a large army he found that the way to Jaunpur was blocked by the enemy troops. He, however, crossed the Ganges. He divided his forces into two divisions in a strategic manner. A division of 15,000 horses was placed under the command of Ahmad Khan. Qutb Khan was given the order for an ambush. A small division

of 5,000 horses was placed under the command of Daulat Khan to keep engage the Sharqi forces. The second division was to move and then to retreat without fighting in such a way as to act as a decoy and lead him to the spot where the other 15,000 horsemen lay in between. Bahlol's soldiers closed the roads from both sides and launched a massive attack on the Sharqis. Many of Husain's soldiers were massacred. Lodis captured thirty of their elephants, many horses and a fair amount of booty. Husain Sharqi had no option but to flee to Bihar. Bahlol then arrived at Jaunpur where he reinstated Barbak Shah and then returned to Delhi. Subsequently Bahlol attacked Gwalior and Etawah in 894/1488. After this he went back to Delhi but on his way to Delhi, he fell ill and died in July 1489.²⁵

Husain Sharqi's Wars with Sikandar Lodi

After Bahlol's death his son Nizam Khan ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah on 17th Sha'ban, 894/16 July 1489. His brothers 'Alam Khan and Barbak Shah with the help of some nobles of different factions challenged his ascendancy on the ground of the purity of blood as Sikandar's mother, Ziba, was the daughter of a Hindu goldsmith of Sirhind. Barbak Shah declared his independence at Jaunpur. Husain Sharqi took advantage of this situation and instigated him to march to Delhi and seize power. Barbak Shah moved with his army to Delhi. Sikandar Lodi first suppressed the rebels in Delhi and then advanced to attack Barbak who was then encamped near Qannauj. Meanwhile, Barbak's ally, Rai Ganesh, deserted him. Barbak's position became weak and he was defeated and then he fled to Bada'un. Sikandar pursued and captured him but soon pardoned and released and restored him to Jaunpur. He, however, appointed his favourite nobles on significant posts and made in-charge of some *parganas* of Jaunpur in order to keep a watch on Barbak.²⁶ In this way, Sikandar Lodi displayed his political insight and wisdom.

Insurrection of Jaunpur Zamindars against Sikandar Lodi

Husain Sharqi did not lose his courage and patience and still hoped to recover his lost kingdom. His main support were now the old

chieftains and *zamindars* of Jaunpur, many of whom were still loyal to him and appeared willing to help him coming back to Jaunpur. He now changed his policy of open battle with the Delhi ruler. Instead he now began to foment insurrections and rebellions by the *zamindars* and chieftains in and around Jaunpur. One such powerful insurrection was led by Juga, a Bachgoti Rajput *zamindar* who held Aldimau, Chandah and Gadwarah *mahals* in Jaunpur as well as Jalalpur, Balkhar and Kathot *mahals* in Manikpur.²⁷ Juga organized an army of 200,000 foot-soldiers and 15,000 horsemen, and attacked Sher Khan who was Sikandar Lodi's governor at Kara. He killed Sher Khan and seized Kara. Then he marched against Mubarak Khan Nuhani, brother of Sher Khan. Mubarak Khan was captured and imprisoned by Rai Bhed, Husain's loyal *zamindar* of Bhata. After defeating the neighbouring Lodi chieftains and nobles, Juga moved to capture Jaunpur from Barbak. Unable to face Juga, Barbak fled to Daryabad (in the modern Barabanki district) to take shelter from Muhammad Khan Farmuli, also known as Kāla Pahār. When Sikandar Lodi came to know of these developments he marched with a large army to Jaunpur in 1491. He was received at Dalmau *pargana* of Rae Bareilly by Barbak and those *amirs* who had been dispossessed from their respective *jagirs* by Juga. Mubarak Khan Nuhani who was now released by Rai Bhed also joined him. But when Sikandar reached Katgarh, a small village in Dalmau he had to face strong resistance from a huge force assembled by the *zamindars* who were still loyal to Husain Shah Sharqi. He, however, prevailed upon the *zamindars* and reached Jaunpur where he reinstalled his brother Barbak.²⁸

Sikandar Lodi's War with Husain Sharqi

This war between Sikandar Lodi and Husain Sharqi was over the issue of punishment of Juga, the Rajput chieftain of Husain. Juga with 15,000 cavalry and 2,00,000 foot-soldiers was a formidable danger and a source of disturbance to the Lodi rule in the area. So Sikandar vowed to eliminate him. He marched with his army to trace and capture Juga. When Juga became aware of this he fled to Husain Sharqi who was already waiting for him in the fort of Jaund (Chaund), near Bhabhua in Bihar. Sikandar Lodi advanced with his

army and encamped in the vicinity of the fort. He asked Husain through his messenger to either punish Juga or hand him over to the Delhi ruler. *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi* and *Tarikh-i Dau'di* inform us that Husain Sharqi sent back an insulting reply to the Lodi ruler through his noble, Mir Sayyid Khan. It said:

Joga chākar-i man-ast wa pidar-i tu mard-i sipāhi būd. Ba-ū teigh mi zadam wa tu tiftl nadāni. Agar fuzul-i khwahi kard to-ra ba jai' teigh ba pizār khwaham zad.

جوگا جاکر منست و پدر تو مردی سپاهی بود. با او تیغ می زدم و تو طفل نادانی. اگر فضولی خواهی کرد ترا به جای تیغ به پیزار خواهم زد.

Juga is my servant; and your father was a soldier with whom I measured swords. You are merely a silly child to me and if you talk nonsense I will beat you with shoes rather than with a sword.²⁹

It is to be noted here that *Tarikh-i Dau'di* had written *naukar* in place of *chākar*.

When efforts for peace failed, Sikandar Lodi organized his army for battle and advanced to the fort of Jaund. Husain also came out with his army from the fort. The two armies met at Katgarh and a fierce battle was fought in 1492. It may be noted here that if the battle took place at Katgarh which lies in Dalmau at Rae Bareli it would mean that both the armies went west over more than 250 miles for the battle which appears impractical and doubtful. The battle was fought somewhere near Chaund at Bhabua which is now a district in Bihar. It is also notable that the areas west of Chunar and Benares were now under the Lodi control while the areas east of Benares and Chunar upto south Bihar were under the control of Husain Sharqi. In such condition, Husain Sharqi must have preferred to fight near his stronghold and not far away in the areas where he did not hold practically any control. The strong fort of Chunar and Chaund were in possession of the Jaunpur ruler. Husain was defeated and he fled to [south] Bihar. Many of his nobles, officials and soldiers were captured including Mir Sayyid Khan who was, however, honoured with a horse and a turban. Other Sharqi prisoners were also shown due respect.

In this connection *Tarikh-i Dau'di* says:

Az omrayān Sultan Husain ke girafiār āmdah budand ba-har fard do manzil sarapardah wa yak sai'bān wa yak satūn-i chahārchobi wa do asp wa deh pardah-

dār palang wa jāma-i' khwab ba har yake muai'yyan hukm farmudand. Chun derah muza'iyyan ba tartib bar-pa shud Sultan farmūd ke ishan ra dar deraha nazūl dahand.

از امرایان سلطان حسین که گرفتار آمده بودند بهر فرد دو منزل سراپرده و یک سآبان و یک ستون چهارچوبی و دو اسپ و ده پرده دار پلنگ و جامه خواب به هر یک معین حکم فرمودند- چون دیره مزین به ترتیب بر پا شد سلطان فرمود که ایشان را در دیرپا نزول دهند-

Of the nobles of Sultan Husain, who had been caught imprisoned, each person was ordered to be bestowed upon two pieces of door curtains and one tent with four [wooden] poles and two horses and ten palanquin covered with curtains and one night-gown. When their dwellings were arranged the King gave order to lodge them inside.

Sikandar then returned to Delhi after paying a visit to Jaunpur and allowing Barbak Shah to rule there on his behalf.³⁰

But Barbak was not an able ruler. As soon as Sikandar left for Delhi the *zamindars* and local Rajput chieftains, who repeatedly favoured their Sharqi lord against the Lodis, once again rose in rebellion. Barbak Shah could not be able to quell it and was forced to leave Jaunpur. Sultan Sikandar was now fed up with Barbak. He sent Muhammad Khan Farmuli alias Kāla Pahār, A'zam Humayun and Mubarak Khan to arrest Barbak. They captured him and brought him to Delhi where he was kept as a state prisoner.³¹

On the other hand, Husain Sharqi again increased his power. Chunar, Cherand and a large part of Bihar were under his control. Now Sikandar considered him as his prime enemy and decided to dispossess him of the areas under his control. He also knew well that the local Rajput *zamindars* formed the real power-base for Husain Sharqi. First, he sent Mubarak Khan with an army to capture Chunar from Husain Sharqi. When Husain came to know of this development from Khwaja, the Sharqi *faujdar* of the fort of Chunar, he sent Raja Bhed, another Rajput chieftain with a well-trained army in support of the *faujdar*. A fierce battle took place in 1493 at Chunar. The Lodis were badly routed and their commander, Mubarak Khan was wounded, captured and made prisoner. Now Sikandar personally marched against the Sharqis. He reached Chunar and besieged its fort in early 1494. When he failed to splinter the strong fort he moved to Bhata to punish Raja Bhed. Out of fear the Raja released Mubarak Khan and fled to join Husain Sharqi. Full of anger and outrage he went to Arail and Prayag and destroyed the

cultivation and orchards of those areas. Subsequently he destroyed the villages from Dalmau to Koil and finally reached Delhi.³²

By the middle of 1494, Sultan Sikandar again marched against Sharqi Sultan and his allies. First he attacked Raja Bhed of Bhata, the strong ally of Husain. On the way he destroyed the villages in order to punish even the small *zamindars* who supported Raja Bhed and the Sharqi Sultan. Raja Bhed and his son Nar Singh Deo who had gathered a considerable force preferred to face the Delhi army. Raja Bhed was defeated and Nar Singh Deo was wounded. Both fled but Bheds' son died on the way.³³

Battle of Benares and Husain's Flight to Kahalgaon

Sikandar now moved to reduce Bhata and its dependencies. But due to want of provisions and fodder, and spread of epidemic, a large number of his horses died. Husain Sharqi took opportunity of this situation. He assembled his forces and marched from Bihar against Sikandar. Meanwhile, some of his Rajput allies came forward and joined him. In this situation Sikandar also made overtures to win some Rajputs chieftains of the areas. He tried to win over Salivahan who was the brother of Raja Bhed. Sikandar now crossed the Ganges and reached Benares via Chunar. On the other hand, Husain also advanced towards Benares. Both the armies met at a distance of about 36 miles from Benares at the end of 1494. But Husain was again defeated. He fled to Bhata and then to Bihar. Sultan Sikandar hotly pursued him but when he came to know that he had retired to Colgong (modern Kahalgaon), a dependency under the Bengal kingdom, he stopped his pursuit. Sultan 'Ala-ud Din Husain Shah (1494-1519), the Bengal king, whose daughter was married to Husain Sharqi's son, Jalal Khan, cordially received him and assigned the *pargana* of Colgong. He also allowed him to mint his coins from there and promised him help in recovering his lost kingdom.³⁴

Sultan Sikandar, now encamped at Deobar or Dewar (presently a village in Champaran district of Bihar), and annexed a large part of Bihar under the Lodi rule in 1495. He appointed Mubarak Khan Nuhani as the governor of Bihar and himself proceeded to

Darweshpur, situated near Maner at Patna. He also visited the tomb of Shaikh Sharf-ud Din Yahya Maneri to pay his homage.³⁵

Sikandar Lodi now planned to march against 'Ala-ud Din Husain Shah, king of Bengal, who had given shelter to Husain Sharqi. But first he moved with his army to Tirhut and forced its Raja who was an old ally of the Sharqis to submit. Then he came back to his encampment at Darweshpur and began to make preparation for Bengal invasion. Meanwhile, Husain Shah of Bengal sent a strong army against Sikandar Lodi under his son Prince Daniyal to intercept the Delhi forces in 1496. Sikandar Lodi sent Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nuhani against the Bengal army. The two armies confronted at Barh (a few miles east of Patna) where the two armies remained for some time facing each other. The Delhi army suffered due to inadequate supply of food and fodder. Hence no engagement took place, and finally a non-aggression truce was concluded. They agreed not to interfere with each other's kingdoms and nor to give asylum to the enemies of each side. After this treaty Sikandar Lodi appointed A'zam Humayun as his governor at Darweshpur and Darya Khan Nuhani in (south) Bihar. Then he reached Jaunpur where he stayed for six months in 1497. During this period he demolished and destroyed all the traces and edifices of Sharqi rule including forts, palaces, gardens, and everything connected with their name and memory. Only mosques were spared after great interference and persuasion of the *'ulama* and the sufis.³⁶

Husain Sharqi's Last Attempt to Regain his Lost Kingdom of Jaunpur

Demolition and destruction of Sharqi edifices gave deep pain and distress to Husain Sharqi who now decided to make a last attempt to regain his lost kingdom before it was too late. He sought the help of Bengal's 'Ala-ud Din Husain Shah who advised him to defer this plan for some years. Husain Sharqi neglected his advice and decided to march with the available army with him in AD 1500. He dashed to Bihar [Sharif] and besieged the fort. Darya Khan Nuhani, the Lodi governor shut himself up in the fort and sought military assistance

from Sikandar Lodi. Husain Sharqi, on the other hand, continued the siege with great courage and determination. He got the water of deep moat of the fort cleared in one night. In the meantime, reinforcement comprising 9,000 horses reached to assist Darya Khan on Sikandar Lodi's orders. Now the Sharqi Sultan found his position weak and precarious. He lost all hopes of recovering his kingdom and became disappointed. Completely broken and shattered he finally retired to Colgong where he lived in obscurity and died in 911/1505. In accordance with his wish he was buried at Jaunpur.³⁷ However, the version that Husain Shah is buried at Jaunpur is questionable. Sikandar Lodi was his enemy to such extent that he did not like keep any sign of his rule at Jaunpur and had ordered for destruction of everything related to him. In such a situation it is unbelievable that Sikandar Lodi and his men would have allowed Husain Shah's men to bury their king at Jaunpur. An alternative possibility could be that Husain Shah's devotees somehow might have managed to bury him secretly sometime later at Jaunpur.³⁸

An Estimate of Sultan Husain Sharqi

Sultan Husain Sharqi was a king of unparalleled courage and chivalry. He was resourceful, dynamic and capable of sustaining against heavy odds. But he lacked the sharpness and meticulousness of a statesman. He was over-ambitious and haughty. On several occasions he miscalculated the situation and nurtured over-confidence about his strength and resourcefulness. His rash conduct and hurriedly-taken decisions often brought him trouble and disastrous consequences. His chief queen, Bibi Khunza, whose passion for vengeance was unbridled, often overshadowed his political decisions. Saeed believes that 'had Bahlol been succeeded by a less able son than Sikandar there might have been some chances for Husain to retain the remaining territory of Bihar'.³⁹

But we cannot forget that it was his commanding personality and liberal attitude which at least enabled him to maintain a well-knit relationship with the local *zamindars* and Rajput chiefs with whose help and military support he was in a position to continuously challenge the powerful Lodi rulers, and reverted their attacks and

invasions many a times. At least on two occasions, as we have seen above, his loyal *zamindars* and Rajput chieftains such as Juga Rajput and Rai Bhed fought on their own strength with the Delhi army of the Lodis. It was this unstinted loyalty of the *zamindars* and Rajput chieftains which ensured him flow of revenue, enabling him to maintain a strong army as well as reassemble and reorganize his defeated forces on many occasions. This enabled him to resist and fight against the invasions of the Lodis, and also facilitated him to undertake the task of constructing several lavish edifices like the Jāma mosque, *Eid-gāhs* and other buildings, palaces and gardens.

It is an undenyng fact that he spent most part of his life in fighting battles, organizing his army and expanding his territorial possessions. But he was also a man of scholarly taste. He was himself a learned scholar and was fond of the company of *‘ulama* and *sufis* like Maulana Safi Jaunpuri, Shaikh Jahangir Suhrawardi and Makhdum Baha-ud Din Chishti. He bestowed upon them honour and gifts. A *khanqah* (hospice) was built for Baha-ud Din Chishti and he was also offered 100 *tankas* for his two scholarly works, *Sharh-i Hidayah* and *Sharh-i-Baizawi*. Husain Sharqi often spared time to attend the lectures of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri.⁴⁰

Husain Sharqi was an accomplished musician and a painter too. Shah Nawaz Khan, the author of *Mir’at-i Aftab Numa*, a manuscript compiled in 1802 has called Sultan Husain Sharqi with the pseudonym Gandharva. Abdul Halim has remarked that the *gandharv* is given to ‘an expert musician on the practical side both of the past and of his own times, and Baz Bahadur and Tansen belonged to this category.’ In fact Husain Shah Sharqi was the greatest musical genius after Amir Khusrau. His reputation as a highly accomplished musician was well known all over India and till now acknowledged by the expert musicians. He invented not only twelve *syams*, such as Malhar Syam and Basant Syam, but also fourteen *tadis*, and the Jaunpuri Basant or Jaunpur Kangra Khayāl (infra pp. 186-90 for details).⁴¹

Shaikh Qutban who was a contemporary sufi and poet and who is buried in the Qutban Shaheed Muhallah of Varanasi, composed *Mrigavati* in AH 909 or 1503-4 during the reign of Husain Shah. Shaikh Budhan who was the *guru* of Shaikh Qutban lived at

Zafrabad near Jaunpur. Qutban praised Husain Shah in his poetical work *Mrigavati* and called him a learned, generous and powerful king (infra, pp. 160-3 for more details),

साह हुसैन आहि बड़ राजा । छात सिंहासन इनहि पै छाजा ।
 पंडित औ बधिवंत सयानां । पोथा बांच अरथ सब जानां ।
 धरम दुदिस्टिल इन्ह कह छाजा । हम पर छांह जी (जिय) उ जग रा(जा)
 दान देइ बहु गनति न आवा । बलि औ करन न सरबरि पावा ।
 राय जहां लहि गंधरप अहहीं । सेवा करहिं बार सब चहहीं ।
 चतुर सुजान भखा सब जानां अइस न देखेउं कोइ ।
 सभा बिनव सब कान दै फुनि देखा तौ सोई ।।

Sāh Husain āhi baḍa Raja, Chhāt sinhāsan inhi pai chāja
 Pandit ao budhiwant sayāna, potha bānch arath sab jana
 dharam dudistil inhe kanh chāja, ham par chhanh ji (jiya) u jag ra(ja)
 dān dei bahu ganti na āwa, Bālī ao Karan na sarbari pāwa
 rai jahan lahi gandhrap ahahin, seva karhin bār sab chahahin
 chatur sujān bhakha sab jana ais na dekhaun koi
 sabha binaw sab kān dae phuni dekha tau soi.

Husain Shah is the great king; canopy and throne befits only him
 [he is] scholar, intellectual and wise; [who] has studied scriptures (Quran) and
 knows all its meaning
 the righteousness of [king] Yudhisthir fits him; his shadow [benevolence] is
 upon us and he would survive as king
 his charity cannot be counted; Bali (king) and Karan (king) cannot equal him
 All nobles and officers [under him]; [are] his servants and take care of the doors
 [of the kingdom]
 [Husain Shah] is wise, learned and knows all languages [I] do not know anyone
 like him
 He [patiently] listens to all courtiers and this [quality] is always seen in him.

There is some controversy and confusion about the period of the reign of Husain Shah. Historians generally believe that Husain Shah died in 905/1499-1500. Saeed has given the period of reign of Husain as 1458-1505 on the basis of his coins which are known uninterruptedly till the year 910 AH, i.e. AD 1504-5. Later on his coins of the year 911 AH/AD 1505-6 were also reported. On the basis of these coins Parmeshwarilal Gupta has expressed the opinion that Husain Shah might have remained alive till the year 911/1506.

However, we have found some coins of this ruler till the year 919 AH/AD 1513-14. His copper coins dated 917 AH/AD 1511-12 were discovered from Ranikhet now in Uttarakhand in 1936-7 as reported by A.K. Srivastava.⁴² Later on his coins dated 919 AH (1513-14) also came up.

These coins were perhaps minted posthumously. But the question arises who struck these coins? Were these fiat coinages? These questions have been addressed in the chapter 'Currency Pattern and Money Supply' later (infra, pp. 144-6 below). However, so far as Husain Sharqi's period of reign is concerned it is well known that after the battle of Benares in 1494 he completely lost his kingdom which he never recovered. So his period of reign may well be treated from 1458 to 1494; though he remained alive in asylum till 1505.

Here we may refer to three Arabic inscriptions of Bengal sultans which have been discovered from the areas of Uttar Pradesh which formed a part of the Sharqi kingdom. Two inscriptions were brought to light by W.H. Siddiqui in 1962. Both the inscriptions were discovered from village Kharid of Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh. The first inscription carries the name of Husain Shah (899-925/1494-1519) of Bengal and commemorates the construction of a mosque. But this inscription is broken and the portion containing the date is lost. The second inscription belongs to Nasir-ud Din Nusrat Shah (925-38/1519-31) and it is dated 27 *Rajab* 933 AH (29 April AD 1527). The second inscription records the name of the commander deputed at that place. It reads, *Khan-i 'Azam Mukhtiyar Khan Sar-i Lashkar Darrah Kharid* (the great Khan, Mukhtiyar Khan, the Commander of the valley of Kharid).⁴³ A third Arabic inscription has been discovered by the present author when he was doing his fieldwork in Uttar Pradesh for the present research project. This inscription has been discovered from Husainabad of Ballia district. It records the construction of the Jama mosque during the reign of 'Ala-ud Din Husain Shah of Bengal in 907 AH/AD 1501-2. All these three inscriptions establish that after the crumbling of the Sharqi dynasty, the Lodis could not maintain their dominance in the erstwhile Jaunpur kingdom and Husain Shah of Bengal expanded his power beyond the borders of Bihar. Husain Shah's two inscriptions—one recording the construction of a mosque and the other recording

the construction of the Jāma mosque, the ruins of which may still be traced in the Husainabad village in the Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh.⁴⁴

NOTES

1. Farishta, II, p. 601.
2. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 284. *CHB*, II (I), p. 218 has wrongly mentioned the figure of horses as 5,00,000.
3. Ibid.
4. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 284; Farishta, II, pp. 601-2.
5. Ibid.
6. Bahlol had gone to Multan to help Shaikh Yusuf, the dispossessed ruler of Multan. It is notable that Shaikh Yusuf's son 'Abdullah was married to one of the daughters of Bahlol. 'Abdullah's son born of Bahlol's daughter was Rukn-ud Din who was appointed as Shaikh-ul Islam by Sikandar Lodi.
7. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 307; Farishta, I, p. 324; Tahir Sabzwari, f. 212a; Saeed, pp. 86-7.
8. *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 12.
9. Tahir Sabzwari, f. 212a; Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Gunpowder and Firearms: Warfare in Medieval India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 42.
10. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 307; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 308.
11. Saeed, p. 87.
12. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p. 285; Farishta, II, p. 602. *Afsana-i Shahan* gives the strength of his army as one lakh horses and 500 elephants. *Afsana-i Shahan*, ff. 15-18; Saeed, p. 88.
13. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 285.
14. *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 12; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp. 285-6; Farishta, II, p. 602.
15. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp. 286,308; Farishta, II, p. 602.
16. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 308; Farishta, II, p. 603; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, f. 63a.
17. Ibid.
18. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 309; Farishta, I, pp. 324-5; *Ni'matullah*, f. 51a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, ff. 63-4.
19. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 309-10; Farishta, I, pp. 325-6; *Ni'matullah*, f. 51b; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, ff. 63-4; *Afsana-i Shahan*, f. 20.
20. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 310; Farishta, I, p. 26; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, ff. 63-4.

21. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 311; Farishta, I, p. 326; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, ff. 63-4.
22. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 311; Farishta, II, p. 316; Saeed, pp. 94-7.
23. *Afsana-i Shahan*, ff. 17-18; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 312; Ni'matullah, f. 53a; Farishta, I, pp. 326-7; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, ff. 63-4.
24. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 312; Ni'matullah, ff. 53-4; Farishta, I, p. 327; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, f. 64.
25. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 312; Ni'matullah, f. 54a; Farishta, I, p. 328; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, f. 64; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, pp. 20-1.
26. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 314-15; Ni'matullah, ff. 54a-55b; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 45.
27. *Ain-i Akbari*, I, pp. 426-9.
28. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 317; *Ni'matullah*, ff. 56-7; Farishta, I, p. 332; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, pp. 45-6; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 20; Saeed, p. 101.
29. *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, pp. 46-7; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 20.
30. *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, pp. 47-8; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, pp. 21-2.
31. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 317-18; Ni'matullah, f. 57a; Farishta, I, p. 332.
32. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 318; Ni'matullah, f. 57b; Farishta, I, p. 332.
33. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 318-19; Ni'matullah, f. 57b; Farishta, I, pp. 332-3.
34. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 318-19; Ni'matullah, f. 58a; Farishta, I, p. 333; *Afsana-i Shahan*, f. 29b; *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 53.
35. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 320; Ni'matullah, f. 58a; Farishta, I, pp. 333-4.
36. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 320; Ni'matullah, ff. 58b, 59a; Farishta, I, pp. 333-4; *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 19-20.
37. *Afsana-i Shahan*, ff. 32-3; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, p. 80; *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 20-1.
38. Parmeshwarilal Gupta, 'Husain Shah Sharqi ke Antim Din' (in Hindi), *Itihās Anushilan*, vol. I, no. 7, Jayeshta, 2024 vs (June 1976), p. 71.
39. Saeed, p. 112.
40. *Tazkirah*, p. 198; *Tajalli-i Nur*, I, p. 58; Saeed, p. 111.
41. A. Halim, 'History of the Growth and Development of North-Indian Music during the Sayyid-Lodi Period', *JASP*, vol. I, no. I, Dacca, 1956, pp. 59-60; Saeed, p. 112; Parmeshwarilal Gupta, loc. cit., p. 68.
42. A.K. Srivastava, *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh*, 1882-1979, Lucknow Museum, 1980, p. 160.
43. W.H. Siddiqui, 'Two Inscriptions of Bengal Sultans from Uttar Pradesh', *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 45-8.
44. Syed Ejaz Hussain, 'Discovery of Husain Shah's New Inscription and Ruins of a Jami Mosque from Husainabad in Ballia District of Uttar Pradesh and Diffusion of the Bengal Art', *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 18, 2013, pp. 9-21.

CHAPTER 4

Economy and Trade

Agrarian System

The rich and pompous court with its generous patronage to cultural pursuits and military activities over a century was perhaps chiefly if not wholly dependent on the agrarian economy sustained by the fertile land the country possessed. How far this agriculture-base of the state remained unaffected by the continuous process of warfare into which Jaunpur was involved, is a matter of investigation.

The boundary of the Jaunpur kingdom at its height, stretched from Koil or Kol identified with Aligarh, including all the rich districts of what is today known as Uttar Pradesh, to Tirhut in north Bihar, and touched the boundary of Nepal and the Himalayan *tarai*. On the west it was spread from Qannauj to Bhojpur of Bihar in the east during the time of Ibrahim Shah. The last ruler Husain Shah inherited a vast kingdom, the boundaries of which stretched from the foothills of the Himalayas to the borders of Malwa on one side, and from Tirhut to almost up to the gates of Delhi on the other. In this way, the Jaunpur kingdom included the vast and fertile area of middle doab which formed the *Khalisa* or crown land under the Khalji and the Tughluq times. These included Kol (Aligarh), Kara, Amroha, Katehar, Bada'un, Qannauj, Baran (Bulandshahr), Bahraich, Dalmau (Rae Bareli), Shamsabad, Gorakhpur, Zafrabad, Jhusi, Rapri, Katghar (Rae Bareli), Khaspur Tanda, Kantit (Mirzapur), Chunar, Benares, Ghazipur, Chaund (Bhabua district of Bihar), Sarguja (Daltonganj in Bihar) as well as Saran (in Bihar). In most of these *parganas* hereditary local chiefs held the *zamindari*.

Barani has informed us that Nizam Mian, 'a man of low birth' had taken Kara, on contract (*muqata'a*) at some lakhs of *tankas* from Nusrat Khan, a merchant.¹ 'Aziz Khammar, the *muqti* (called *wali* by Ibn

Battuta) of Amroha controlled 1,500 villages which accrued revenue of 6 million (*tankas*) during the time of Muhammad Tughluq.² It is notable that during the height of Jaunpur kingdom, the term *iqta'* perhaps disappeared while *sarkar* and *pargana* became current with each *sarkar* comprising a number of *parganas*. Commenting on the Lodi period (1451-1526) Irfan Habib has said,

The term *iqta'* now disappeared from view, replaced simply by *sarkars* and *parganas*. These were territorial divisions, each *sarkar* comprising a number of *parganas*. The term *sarkar* seems to have originated from its use to represent a noble's 'establishment'. A group of *parganas* placed under the *sarkar* of a noble (and thus in older terminology, his *iqta'*) would be called, first, his *sarkar*, and, then simply, a *sarkar*. Each *sarkar* was assigned a *jama'*, or estimated revenue, whose purpose could only be to lay down, to some extent, the military and other obligations of the noble holding the *sarkar*-assignment.³

Afif has informed that during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq the total revenue of the Delhi Sultanate as officially estimated was 67,50,00,000 *tankas*.⁴ But we do not know what was the revenue of the doab area, which would have definitely helped us to estimate the revenue of the Jaunpur Sultanate.

The areas which formed the *khalisa* or crown land constituting the middle doab were well irrigated by the chief rivers like the Ganges, the Saryu and the Gomti with their different channels. But the water through the rivers and their tributaries was not equally distributed in all the areas under cultivation. Barani has recorded a serious famine in the areas that lasted for a long period of seven years (1334-40) on account of the failure of rains. Barani says:

Dar dil-i Sultan Muhammad uftād ke khirāj wilāyet miyān Doāb yak-i bih deh wa yak-i bih bist mi bayed shud wa dar a'amal andesha-i mazkur Sultan durust abwabi paida awurdand wa māli waz'a kardand ke kamar-i ri'aya ba-shikast wa mutalba an-chunan abwabi chunan sakbt kardand ke ri'aya zā'if wa kam mayah ba-kulli bar uftād wa ri'aya ghani ke mayah wa asbābi dashtand mutamarrid gashtand wa wilayet-ha kharāb shud wa zara'at-ha ba-kulli ba-kāst wa ri'aya-yi wilayet-hai dūr dast az istam'a kharābi wa bar uftad ri'aya miyan Doāb az taras ankeh nabāshad ke bar ma ham hamchunan hukm kunand ke bar inshān kardand sar-i ata't tāftand wa dar jungle-ha khazidand wa be-wasta-i qillat-i zara'at miyan Doāb wa bar uftādgi ri'aya-i miyan Doāb wa kam shudan kārkanian wa na-rasidan ghallāt az aqtā'at Hindustan dar Dehli wa hawāli Dehli wa tamām miyan-i Doāb qahat-i muhlik uftād wa ghalla-ha giran shudand wa imsāk bāran

*ham rui namūd qahat-i 'ām shud wa chand sāl qahat ba-mānad wa chandin hazār hazār ādmi dar ān qahat mustahlak shud wa jamī-at-ha parishān gasht.*⁵

در دل سلطان محمد افتاد که خراج ولایت میان دواب یکی به ده و یکی به بیست می باید شد و در اعمال اندیشه مذکور سلطان درست ابوابی پیدا آوردند و مالی وضع کردند که کمر رعایا بشکست و مطالبه آنچنان ابوابی چنان سخت کردند که رعایای ضعیف و کم مایه بکلی بر افتاد و رعایای غنی که مایه و اسبابی داشتند متهمرد گشتند و ولایتها خراب شد و زراعتها بکلی بکاست و رعایای ولایتهای دور دست از استماع خرابی و بر افتد رعایا میان دواب از ترس آنکه نباشد که بر ماهم همچنان حکم کنند که بر ایشان کردند سر اطاعت نافتند و در جنگلها خزیدند و بواسطه قلت زراعت میان دواب و بر افتادگی رعایای میان دواب و کم شدن کارکنان و نارسیدن غلات از اقطاعات هندوستان در دهلی و حوالی دهلی و تمام میان دواب قحط مهلك افتاد و غلها گران شدند و امساک باران هم روی نمود قحط عام شد و چند سال قحط بماند و چندین هزار هزار آدمی دران قحط مستهلک شد و جمعیتها پریشان گشت - (Barani, p. 473)

It came to the mind of Sultan Muhammad [Tughluq] that the [revenue] taxes in the villages of Doāb should be fixed to one to ten and one to twenty. And as desired by the king the tax and other *abwābs* to be levied were fixed in such a way that the backbone of the farmers were broken and those *abwābs* were so strictly demanded that such peasants who were weak and without resources were completely ruined, and the rich peasants who had resources and means, turned rebels and the whole regions were devastated and cultivation was totally abandoned. And the peasants of distant regions, hearing of the ruin and destruction of the peasantry of the Doāb, fearful that the same orders might be issued for them as for the latter, turned away from obedience and fled to the forests. And due to the contraction of cultivation in the Doāb, the ruin of its peasantry, the reduction in numbers of grain carriers, and the failure of grain to reach Delhi from the provinces of Hindustan; a serious famine set in and grain prices rose high and when the rains too, failed, the famine became widespread, and continued for some years. And many thousands people died during that famine and the whole society became disturbed.

Abul Fazl has mentioned that land was divided into four categories under Akbar, viz., *polaj*, *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar* on the basis of productivity. *Polaj* was annually cultivated and never left fallow while *parauti* was left fallow for one season for recovery of strength. On the other hand, *chachar* was left fallow for three or four years while *banjar* was seldom cultivated or left fallow for at least five years.⁶ Abul Fazl further adds, '*Banjar* land at the foot of the hills and land subject to inundations in the districts of Sambhal and Bahraich, do not remain as *banjar*, for so much new soil is brought down with the overflow that it is richer and more productive than *polaj*.'⁷ A scientific study

of the genetics of the alluvial soil of the Ganga basin particularly of Bada'un, Shahjahanpur, Sitapur and Hardoi, undertaken by R.S. Murthy, B.S. Mathur and S.P. Raychaudhury on behalf of the Indian Agricultural Institute, New Delhi in 1961 came to a conclusion that the soil of the region which was sandy and clay loamy with light brown to pale olive colour had the moisture holding capacity more than 20 per cent in the dry season and maintaining moderate to rich chemical and mineralogical properties.⁸ Such a study of modern period cannot be directly applied to a remote history of several centuries ago. But it may also be kept in mind that morphology of soil of an area where the climate and river pattern remains greatly unchanged for centuries, maintains a kind of stable characteristics for a very longer period spanning over several centuries.

Wheat, rice, barley, pulses, *jowār* (millet), *bajra*, *nabāt* (candy sugar), peas, sesame oil, oilseeds, cotton were the chief crops which were produced in most of the areas covered under the Jaunpur Sultanate. A variety of rice was produced in Oudh and Bahraich. The latter was famous for the production of a very fine quality of rice called *sukhdas*, perhaps a local name, mentioned by Abul Fazl. This rice was supplied to Delhi for the royal kitchens. The anonymous work on music, *Sangitasiromani*, composed in 1428 at Kara near Allahabad during the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi, has mentioned that Jaunpur area which he called madhyadesa was rich in rice especially the *śāli* rice.⁹ Earlier, Ibn Battuta who visited during the Tughluq period and travelled the areas which later formed the core of the Jaunpur kingdom, particularly Kara and Manikpur, has said that these areas were considered to be exceptionally fertile and grew good quality rice, sugar cane and wheat which were transported to Delhi in great quantity. The areas were reputed for surplus agricultural production and grains of the value of 70 or 80 lakhs of *tankas* and supplies were sent to Delhi when there was a great famine there earlier around 1333-4 as is informed by *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*. It is also notable that sugar was produced in great surplus in Qannauj and it was sent to Delhi in huge quantity.¹⁰ Kabuli gram was introduced in the area during the Mughal period. It was mainly produced in Kalinjar, Rae Bareli, Jaunpur, Benares, Ghazipur and Chunar. *Pān* (betel-nut) by then had become an essential item of cultural life for the elites and commoners both. *Kirtilata* has referred to the *pān*-

hata (betel shops) in Jaunpur. *Pān* [leaves] was produced at Fatehpur, Kara and Benares as has been noticed by Abul Fazl.¹¹

Ain-i-Akbari has informed that wheat, *kur* rice, barley, mustard, poppy seeds, linseed, *ajwain*, cumin seed, coriander seed, onion, peas, carrots, Persian musk-melons and lettuce were the chief agrarian products during the winter season in Allahabad and Oudh region which earlier formed the core of the Jaunpur kingdom. On the other hand, sugar cane, rice (three varieties, viz., *shāli mushkin*, *munji* and the common type), sesame seeds, *moth* (lentils), pulses (*māsh*, *arhar* and *mung*), *jowār* (millet), cotton, hemp, indigo, *gal*, turmeric, *kachalu*, watermelons, *pān* and *singhara* were the chief autumn crops in the region. It may be noted that sugar cane, cotton, indigo and hemp formed the chief cash crops in the area.¹²

Liquidation of the Jaunpur Sultanate and the New Arrangement under Akbar

The Sharqi Empire was finally and formally liquidated when Akbar introduced his new administrative system under which twelve *subahs* came into existence in 1594. Most of the areas that earlier formed the Jaunpur kingdom now fell into four *subahs*, viz. Agra, Allahabad, Oudh and Bihar. The *subah* of Allahabad under Akbar comprised nine *sarkars*, viz., Allahabad, Benares, Chunar, Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Kalinjar, Kara (40 miles north-west of Allahabad), Korah (a decaying town in Fatehpur district), and Manikpur with a total number of 138 *parganas* or *mahals* forming Jaunpur as the biggest Sarkar with 41 *mahals* while Benares as the smallest *sarkar* comprising eight *mahals*. The *subah* of Oudh comprised five *sarkars*, i.e. Bahraich, Gorakhpur, Khairabad, Lucknow and Oudh consisting of 133 *mahals* with Lucknow as the largest *sarkar* with 55 *mahals* while Bahraich forming the smallest *sarkar* with only eleven *mahals*. It may be noted that Qannauj and Kol (Aligarh) the two *sarkars* of *subah* Agra also fell under the erstwhile kingdom of Jaunpur. Qannauj consisted of 30 *mahals* while Kol comprised 21. On the other hand, the *subah* of Bihar contained seven *sarkars*, viz., Bihar Sharif, Champaran, Hajipur, Monghyr, Rohtas, Saran and Tirhut with a total number of 199 *parganas* or *mahals* (Figure 1).

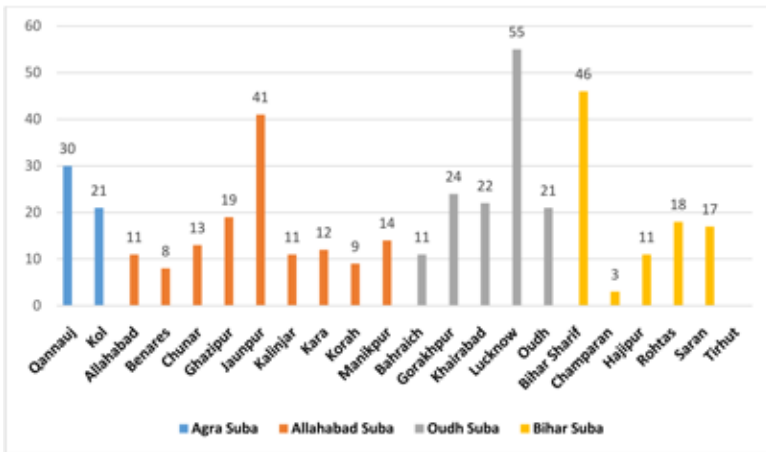


Figure 1: Probable Territorial Expansion of Jaunpur Kingdom based on Sarkars with *parganas* of Akbar's Subahs

A coin of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1415-16 and 1418-33) of Bengal is known from Rostpur which is doubtfully identified with Rohtaspur in Bihar. Rohtas at that time was undoubtedly under the possession of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.¹³ It is notable that south Bihar and some parts of north Bihar were included in the Sharqi kingdom. Bhagalpur and Monghyr were certainly a part of the Bengal Sultanate as we have found five Arabic inscriptions dated 850/1446-7, 854/1450, 897/1491, 907/1502 and 908/1503 of the Bengal sultans Nasir-ud Din Mahmud Shah (1434-59), Shams-ud Din Muzaffar Shah (1491-4) and 'Ala-ud Din Husain Shah (1494-1519) from Bhagalpur and one Arabic inscription dated 903/1497-8 of 'Ala-ud Din Husain Shah from Monghyr. Bengal's Husain Shah's three other inscriptions, one dated 906/1501 two dated 909/1503-4 from Saran make us believe that Bengal had established its supremacy in north Bihar up to Saran area. Besides, Husain Shah's two inscriptions commemorating the construction of mosques each at Barh and Patna in 916/1510-11, establish that after the decline of Sharqi power, Husain Shah of Bengal controlled undisputed sway over the territories of the whole of north Bihar and a part of the south Bihar.¹⁴ It significant to note here that after the final exile of Sultan Husain of Jaunpur to Kahalgaon under the shelter of Husain Shah of Bengal,

Bengal's supremacy was further extended in the trans-Gandak area up to Pargana Kharid in Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh as is evident from two Arabic inscriptions discovered from Kharid. The first inscription which is fragmentary and the portion of date on it is lost, carries the name of Husain Shah of Bengal and the second dated 27 *Rajab* 933 AH (29 April AD 1527) carries the name of Nusrat Shah, the son of Husain Shah.¹⁵

The present author during his fieldwork in Jaunpur and Varanasi found the ruins of a Jāma mosque at Husainabad in Ballia district. That the mosque was built by the Bengal Sultan Husain Shah is established from an Arabic inscription dated 909/1503-4 found from a nearby Imambara where the said inscription was replaced from the compound of the mosque where it was lying on the ground of the ruined structure of the brick-built mosque. The local people till now believed that the mosque was built by Husain Shah of Jaunpur but when the present author visited there and deciphered the inscription, it was established that the area Husainabad was named after Husain Shah of Bengal who built a Jāma mosque there. In this way, three inscriptions of Bengal sultans, two of Husain Shah and one of his son Nusrat Shah, have till now come to light from Ballia district—two from Kharid and one from Husainabad. The Husainabad inscription and mosque discovered by the present author has been for the first time reported and described by the present author¹⁶ (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Husainabad (Ballia) Inscription of Husain Shah of Bengal

In this way, the areas of Ballia district of present Uttar Pradesh which earlier formed core part of the Jaunpur kingdom, were included in the kingdom of Bengal after the decline of the Sharqi kingdom. This must have indeed increased the revenue sources of the Bengal Sultanate.

Text of the Husainabad (Ballia) Inscription

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً " الله يبنى الله له بيتاً مثله فى الجنة يبنى هذا المسجد الجامع

السلطان المعظم المكرم علاؤالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان

ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة تسع و تسعين -

Translation

1. The Prophet, may the peace of Allah be upon Him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah will build for him a similar house in paradise.' This Jami' mosque was built
2. by the exalted and honoured Sultan 'Ala-ud Duniya wa'd Din Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shah al-Sultan,
3. the son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Husaini, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year nine hundred and nine [AD 1503-4].

Probable Source of Revenue of the Sharqi Kingdom

We do not have any contemporary or near contemporary source to assess the revenue resources during the time of Jaunpur Sultanate. Ibn Battuta has noted that the revenue collector of Amroha whom he has called *wāli*, was expected to collect 6,000,000 *tankas* from 1,500 villages. He had to keep 5 per cent for himself and in kind he was required to send 30,000 *mans* of grain. Irfan Habib, on the basis of the information given by Afif in *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, has mentioned that during the time of Firuz Shah Tuqhlugh the total revenue from Doāb was 8,000,000 *tankas*.¹⁷ No other description is known elsewhere. However, the only source that gives the details about the revenue is the *Ain-i Akbari* which has described *suba*-wise and *sarkar*-wise revenue description during the time of the Mughal ruler Akbar. The *sarkar*-wise data given below (Table 1) may help us

Table 1: Sarkar-wise Data on Land-revenue

<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>No. of mahals</i>	<i>Subah</i>	<i>Cultivation (in bighas/biswas)</i>	<i>Land-revenue (in dams)</i>
Qannauj	30	Agra	2,776,673 <i>bighas</i> & 16 <i>biswas</i>	52,584,624
Kol	21	Agra	2,461,730 <i>bighas</i>	54,992,940
Allahabad	11	Allahabad	573,311 <i>bighas</i> 14 <i>biswas</i>	20,833,374½
Benares	8	Allahabad	36,869 <i>bighas</i> & 12 <i>biswas</i>	8,869,315
Chunar	13	Allahabad	106,270 <i>bighas</i> & 8 <i>biswas</i>	5,810,654
Ghazipur	19	Allahabad	288,770 <i>bighas</i> & 7 <i>biswas</i>	13,431,308
Jaunpur	41	Allahabad	870,265 <i>bighas</i> & 4 <i>biswas</i>	56,394,107
Kalinjar	11	Allahabad	508,273 <i>bighas</i> & 12 <i>biswas</i>	23,839,470
Kara	12	Allahabad	447,556 <i>bighas</i> & 19 <i>biswas</i>	22, 682,048
Korah	9	Allahabad	341,170 <i>bighas</i> & 10 <i>biswas</i>	17,397,567
Manikpur	14	Allahabad	666,222 <i>bighas</i> & 5 <i>biswas</i>	33,916,527
Bahraich	11	Oudh	1,823,435 <i>bighas</i> & 8 <i>biswas</i>	24,120,525
Gorakhpur	24	Oudh	244,283 <i>bighas</i> & 13 <i>biswas</i>	11,926,790
Khairabad	22	Oudh	1,987,700 <i>bighas</i> & 6 <i>biswas</i>	43,644,381
Lucknow	55	Oudh	3,307,426 <i>bighas</i> & 2 <i>biswas</i>	80,716,160
Oudh	21	Oudh	2,796,206 <i>bighas</i> & 19 <i>biswas</i>	40,956,347
Bihar Sharif	46	Bihar	952,598 <i>bighas</i>	80,196,390
Champaran	3	Bihar	85,711 <i>bighas</i> & 5 <i>biswas</i>	5,513,420
Hajipur	11	Bihar	436,952 <i>bighas</i> & 15 <i>biswas</i>	27,331,030

Rohtas	18	Bihar	47,334 & 15 <i>biswas</i>	40,819,493
Saran	17	Bihar	229,052 <i>bighas</i> & 15 <i>biswas</i>	60,172,004
Tirhut	74	Bihar	266,464 <i>bighas</i> & 2 <i>biswas</i>	19,179,777½

just to form some idea about the possible revenue resources of the Sharqi kingdom.

Figure 3 made on the basis of Table 1 reflects that Bihar (Sharif) and Lucknow provided the highest amount of land revenue followed by Saran, Jaunpur, Kol, Qannauj, Khairabad, Rohtas, Oudh, Manikpur, Hajipur, Kalinjar, Bahraich, Allahabad, Tirhut, Korah and Ghazipur. Benares, Chunar and Champaran provided comparatively less amount of revenue.¹⁸ The total amount of revenue of the *sarkars* which most likely formed the Sharqi kingdom at its height comes to 74,53,28,251 crore *dams*. This establishes the fact that the Sharqi kingdom was very rich as it contained the most fertile areas of the Indo-Gangetic belt as would appear from Map 3 below. It may not be out of way to note here that Alexander Hannay, a favourite of Governor-General Warren Hastings was given an assignment to manage Gorakhpur and Bahraich together as a revenue farm, one of

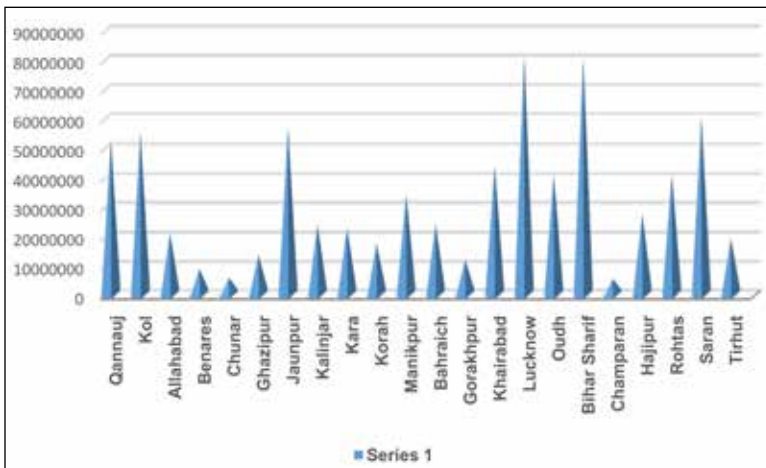
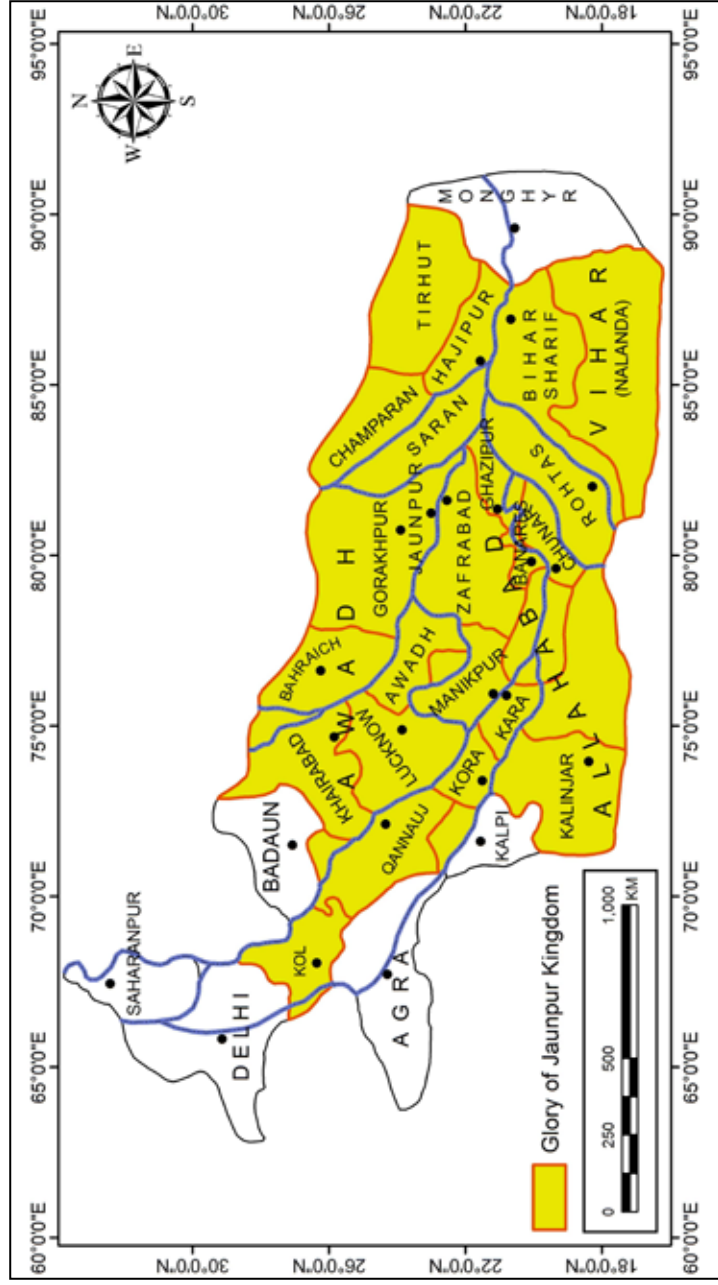


Figure 3: Probable revenue in *dams* under the Sharqis



Source: Based on Suba and Sarkar boundaries described in *Ain-i Akbari* for c. 1595

Map 3: Jaunpur Kingdom at its Glory under Husain Shah Sharqi

the eighteen such *ijarahs* in Nawab Asaf-ud Daula's realm in 1779. In revenue, it was the fourth-largest *ijarah* with a *jama* of Rs. 22 lakh [silver rupees].¹⁹ This hints on the fertility of the areas of Gorakhpur and Bahraich and the high rate of revenue yield.

Relations with the Agrarian Chiefs and *Zamindars*

Much more significant was the chain of rajas, chieftains and other kinds of intermediaries who invariably connected the kings with the peasantry. The sultans of Jaunpur ever since the foundation of the regional independent power, maintained good relations with the local agrarian barons and *zamindars*. Before the appointment of Malik Sarwar Khan Jahan as the in-charge of the province extending from Qannauj to Bihar the chiefs of this entire area had openly rebelled against the local governor. They had seized the payment of *kharaj* or revenue and had dared to attack and occupy the small forts which were situated in their areas. Malik Sarwar from the very outset of his governorship adopted a mixed policy based on both use of force and conciliation, to control these elements who were the chief source of his financial base. Due to this policy the revenue poured in without any hassle and any big military interference. At the same time these agrarian barons and *zamindars* became the real source of political as well as military support till the last for the Sharqi kingdom.

When Ibrahim Sharqi came to power he followed the policy of his predecessor. Initially for a few years he stayed in his capital at Jaunpur and stabilized his financial position and streamlined his administration. He attacked many parts of the *Doab* and received tributes from the local chiefs and *iqta* holders like Mubarak Khan, Rai Nar Singh and several others, and made them pay annual revenue. Qannauj was already captured; he soon subdued Tirhut also.

Biramdeo Baghela, the *muqaddam* of Ghora, had become a strong ally of Ibrahim. Mahoba and Rath were handed over to Jalal Khan bin Dau'd Khan, brother of Malik Zahir-u'd-din, as the governor (*iqta*-holder). Shahpur was captured and put in charge of Hasan Khan bin Maskin, one of Sultan Ibrahim's nobles. Madan Deva was a *jagirdar* or vassal of Gorakhpur and Champaran under the Sharqis.²⁰

Malik Marhaba was the *jagirdar* of Baran (Bulandshahr), Rai Partap held the *jagir* at Bhongaon (near Mainpuri town) and Etawah while Rai Karan held Shamsabad *jagir*. Jā'far bin Dau'd, Khizr Ayyub Ahmad Khan and Rustam Khan maintained the *jagirs* of Iraj, Bhandar, Mewat and Koil respectively under Ibrahim Sharqi.

Many Hindu *jagirdars* remained loyal and extended inflexible support to Husain Shah when he was defeated in battles by Bahlol and then Sikandar Lodi. Raja Kirat Singh of Gwalior, Juga, the Bachgotia Rajput of Mainpuri and Raja Bhed of Bhata were strong allies of Husain Shah and fought for his cause.²¹ The series of wars between Husain Sharqi and Bahlol Lodi as well as Sikandar Lodi resulted in Husain Sharqi's defeats in many battles and loss of many of his territories. Ultimately he had to be content with a small territory in Chunar and some portion of Bihar which yielded an annual revenue of five crores. When he was completely ousted from power, lost his kingdom and finally took shelter at Kahalgaon under Husain Shah of Bengal even then his Rajput allies helped him with military and financial support.

*Sharqi Agrarian Economy and Emergence of
Awadhi-Bhojpuri Peasant-Soldiering in North India*

The predominant agrarian economy of the Sharqi Sultanate led to the emergence of a particular category of military entrepreneurship which was totally based on peasant recruitment. The character of this military was chiefly agrarian. The debate of the emergence of peasant-soldiering was initiated by Dirk H.A. Kolff in his monograph *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The ethnohistory of the military labour market in Hindustan, 1450-1850* (Cambridge, 1990). In his chapter titled 'Bhojpuri soldiering and the vicissitudes of empire', Kolff says, 'Throughout the fifteenth century, innumerable *zamindars* followed the Sharqi sultans in their campaigns. Jaunpur appears to have had troops numerically superior to those of its neighbours and there can be no doubt that a great number of Rajput vassals owed these sultans tribute and served them with their peasant war-bands.'²² Some of the leading Rajput clans about whom some scanty references are found in contemporary sources and mentioned above in earlier chapters were

Baghela Rajputs of Bhata in Rewa, Bachgoti Rajputs of Sultanpur and Rudauli parganas in Uttar Pardesh, Tomar Rajputs of Gwalior as well as the Ujjainiya Rajputs of Bhojpur, Bihar. These Rajput clans became strong, faithful and dependable allies of the Jaunpur rulers. It was the unstinted and resolute support of these Rajputs that the last Sharqi ruler, Husain Shah continued to challenge and fight against the Lodi powers of Delhi for several years even after lost of his kingdom. He was able to garner all kinds of military, logistic, financial and moral support from his Rajput allies who 'mustered enormous manpower from the regional peasantries.'²³ Juga, the chief of the Bachgoti clan of Rajputs is said to have assembled a huge band of army consisting of 2,00,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry. The figure might be exaggerated but it was large enough to challenge and fight out the Lodis from Jaunpur city at least temporarily. The Raja of Gwalior (Raja Kirat Singh) and the Raja of Tirhut also supported Jaunpur rulers.

But the question arises why did they become such an intimate, trustworthy and stanch allies? Kolff has suggested three factors for this: exchange of women, granting of an honourable share in the state as well as adoption of syncretic, liberal and conciliatory policy of the Sharqi rulers.

So far as second and third arguments are concerned there is no doubt that the Sharqi rulers bestowed his Rajput clients an honourable share in the state and at the same time they developed a liberal sycretic cult and followed a conciliatory policy towards them. But so far as the first argument i.e. 'physically by the exchange of women between the participants in their political enterprise' (Kolff, 1990:161) is concerned it appears vague and based on some misconception particularly with regard to the Jaunpur sultanate. Kolff's interpretation is based on the statement of *Tabaqat-i Akbari* that has been quoted by Farishta and a couple of other contemporary chroniclers. Saeed has also quoted it.²⁴ The actual statement of *Tabaqat-i Akbari* is as follows:

'... که نصیر خان جهان ولد قادر خان قابض کالپی قدم از جاده شریعت محمدی بیرون نهاد راه ارتداد پیش گرفته است و قصبه شاه پور را که بیش از کالپی معمور بود خراب ساخته مسلمانانرا جلا وطن نموده و زنان مسلمة را بکافران سپرده ...'

(‘...that Naseer [Nasir] Khan-i Jahan wald Qādir Khan qābiz Kalpi qadam az jādah-i shari’at-i Muhammadi bairun nihādah rāh irtidād pesh girāftah ast wa qasba-i Shahpur ra ke besh az Kalpi māmūr būd kharāb sākhta musalmanān ra jala-watan namudah wa zanān-i muslimah ra ba-kafirān sapurdah....’)²⁵

...that Nasir Khan-i Jahan, son of Qadir Khan, occupying Kalpi has turned away from the path of the law of the Prophet, has adopted the ways of heresy, has devastated the town of Shahpur that was better and more populated than Kalpi, banished the Muslims [from there] and handed over the Muslim women to the non-believers....

The above statement is in fact a complaint of Mahmud Sharqi to the Malwa ruler against Nasir Khan, the ruler of Kalpi and seeking his permission to attack Kalpi. These wordings of the complaints make us believe that Mahmud Sharqi attempted to make a justification for his invasion on Kalpi. And at the same time he tried to take the Malwa ruler into his confidence in order to make him neutral during the course of his invasion on Kalpi. Hence handing over the Muslim women to the Hindu iqta-holders or Nayaks appears just like an accusation. Even if he did so and handed over some Muslim women to Hindus these women might have been the women of those Muslim chiefs who had some alliance with the Jaunpur sultanate. This cannot be treated as a general policy by the Kalpi ruler. Besides, no such instance is found in any chronicles so far as the Jaunpur rulers were concerned. Therefore, the loyalty of the Rajput chiefs towards the Jaunpur sultans was based not on the exchange of women but grant of larger share in the state as well as pursuing a liberal and conciliatory policy towards them.

It is also notable here that we do not find any reference of recruitment of an Abyssinian or *Habshi* corps in the Jaunpur army as we find in the case of Bengal sultanate and elsewhere. Pathans and Rajputs were the main allies who supported Jaunpur rulers till the end.

After the fall of the Jaunpur sultanate the peasant-soldiering system continued as these soldiers migrated to other places even to the south. Kolff has rightly suggested that ‘... but it is probable that the demise of the Jaunpur sultanate compelled an increasing number of men from Awadh and Bhojpur areas to set out in search of *naukri*.’²⁶ Later these peasant-soldiers came to be known as *Baksariyas* and they were recruited by the jobber-commander. Kolff has comments,

'The *Baksariya* was a private soldier emancipated from *zamindari* patronage. The phenomenon of his emergence can probably be traced as far back as the demise of the Jaunpur sultanate and the scattering of its army of innumerable *zamindars*.'²⁷ The *Baksariya* soldiers continued to serve under Sher Shah, the Mughals and even the English East India Company. Kloff further remarks,

I suggest that an unbroken tradition of peasant recruitment links the *zamindari* auxiliaries that served the Jaunpur sultans and Sher Shah, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the *Baksariyas* serving the Mughal and the EIC in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸

The tradition of *Baksariya* recruitment in the native troops of the English East India Company continued till 1857. After the end of the revolt of 1857 when the recruitment policy of the British changed, the Pathans-Rajput soldiers of Awadh-Bhojpur who had actively participated in the revolt were declared non-martial. With the growth of jute industries in Bengal after the 2nd half of the nineteenth century the scenario changed and role of jobbers/*sardars* were to feed the labour intensive industries by recruiting the agro-oriented workers/peasants to these modern industries from Awadh-Bhojpur areas. After the abolition of slavery in 1830s and emancipation of African slaves when the British colonizers were in grave need of farm peasants/labourers for the sugar cultivation in the Caribbean world like Trinidad, Guyana, Surinam, Jamaica and other places a large number of them were sent from the Awadh-Bhojpur areas as indentured labour. A total of 147,596 Indians of whom 80 per cent belonged to Awadh-Bhojpur areas during a period of 72 years (1845-1917) were sent to the Caribbean world where they worked in sugarcane estates controlled by the British and at the same time they cultivated rice, sweet potato and some vegetables which they earlier used to grow in their native places in India.

Craft and Industrial Products

Paper Production

Paper production was an important craft that developed under the Sharqis. *Ain-i Akbari* has reported that good quality paper was produced in Bihar Sharif, which was included in the Jaunpur,

Sultanate.²⁹ It may be noted that the area where paper was produced still exists and it is called Kaghzi Mohallah. Zafrabad, near Jaunpur was another centre for paper production. Since Jaunpur had grown as a great centre of learning, the production of paper in that area was a great need. We do not know exactly when paper production started there. But it was perhaps during the time of Ibrahim Sharqi that the craft of paper production was introduced at Zafrabad. During his fieldwork to Zafrabad under the present research project, this author was taken to a desolate area surrounded by bushes where existed the ruins of a paper industry. The local people traditionally know that paper was manufactured under the Jaunpur Sultanate in that area. They also showed the places where pulp was produced and where the water from the wet-paper was dried. It appeared to the author that it was a two-storey building built of mostly bricks and some stones. There were signs of a well for drawing water, an open space where the local people said that the paper was perhaps dried. For preparation of pulp there were two cisterns made of *surkhi* (brick-dust) and lime. Very near to these ruins there are two graves which do not have any epitaph or inscriptional tablet but their location near the ruins of the paper industry makes one believe that the persons buried there might have been a chief engineer or craftsman for paper production. Figures 4-11 would give strength to our assumption. Since no inscriptional tablet was found from the place and no any other record is found it is difficult to say exactly when this paper industry was established. Since Jaunpur slowly lost its dynamism after decline of the Jaunpur sultanate and the rise of Allahabad during the time of Akbar it is may be argued that the paper industry was most likely established during the Sharqi heyday and not any time later.

It is sometimes believed that paper was not readily available in North India before the seventeenth century. Banarsi Das, the Jain merchant whose family carried their business from Jaunpur, threw one of his manuscripts or *pothi* out of rage in the river Gomti at Jaunpur. John E. Cort who has written about the practice of translation works by Jain scholars like Banarsi Das, Kaunrpal and Hemraj in seventeenth century North India has commented,

The Jain poets' translations, however, were not politics by other means. They did not turn to translations of classical and medieval Prakrit and Sanskrit works



Figure 4: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Cistern for Making Pulp



Figure 5: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Another Cistern for Making Pulp/Washing Raw Paper



Figure 6: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Approx 40' × 20' Space for Drying Raw Paper



Figure 7: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Staircase for going up to the Roof/First Storey



Figure 8: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Remains of a Ruined Wall of the Roof



Figure 9: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Another view of the Ruined Walls



Figure 10: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Sign of a Huge Well for Provision of Water



Figure 11: Zafrabad Paper Industry—Two Graves in the Vicinity of the Paper Manufacturing Unit

to say things they otherwise could not say in Hindi. A very significant difference was one of technology: Banarsidas, Kaunrpal, and Hemraj operated in an economy of the hand-made manuscript, whereas their English contemporaries operated in an economy of the printed, mass-produced pamphlet. Banarsidas made no mention of how he obtained the paper on which he wrote his texts, but we know for certain that writing for him involved ink and paper, and that texts were physical objects on paper. We saw above that Arathmal Dhor gave

him a manuscript (*likhi*, *pothi*) of the Samayasāra in 1633. Many years earlier, in 1605, Banarsidas had repented of the infatuation with love represented in his long poem about nine *rasas*. In a fit of regret what he perceived as a misspent teenage years, he threw the manuscript (*pothi*) into the Gomti River in Jaunpur, where the pages (*patra*) floated away. Banarsidas's seemingly ready access to paper may have been a sign of his middle-class merchant economic status, and paper may not have been as readily available in seventeenth-century North India as it was in seventeenth century England. C.A. Bayly indicates that it was not until the later seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries that North India began to see the widespread production of paper manuscripts.³⁰

When Banarsi Das was first sent to Agra for the purpose of trade his father made a list of the merchandise on a piece of paper which he carried with him (see details on p. 120). This shows that paper was easily available even for day to day work during the seventeenth century. But even before the seventeenth century no crisis of paper is witnessed. Irfan Habib on the basis of evidence cited from a sufi literature of mid fourteenth century has noted, 'By the fourteenth century, paper seems to have become fairly abundant in Delhi. This is shown by the *Khairu'l Majālis* (1354) where, in an anecdote of Shaikh Nizamuddin's (d. 1325) time, it is related how a scholar retrieved the paper for his *farmān* of grant from a confectioner (*halwai*), who was on the point of tearing it into parts to serve as wrapping papers for the sweet flour (*halwa*) he was selling.'³¹ This may convince that paper was so easily, cheaply and abundantly available in Delhi and other areas in North India, and it began to be used for common purposes and even as wrappers by confectioners at least in Delhi. Thus the production of paper and its manufacture in Jaunpur is not unconvincing and illogical.

George A. Grierson who was the District Magistrate at Gaya in Bihar in 1880 has referred to an old paper industry located at Arwal which once employed at least 400 families and the paper produced from there was sent to other places like Shahabad, Benares, Mirzapur and to the North-West Provinces.³² On the basis of this statement we may assume that a paper industry in medieval India employed a good labour force for various works and their number might be, if we take into account a very conservative figure, over 200 or more both skilled and semi-skilled labour.

Carpet Manufacture

The *Ain-i-Akbari* informs that carpets, especially woollen carpets, were manufactured at Jaunpur, Zafarwal or Zafrabad and other places.³³ Irfan Habib in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* has also shown that carpets were produced in Qannauj, Jaunpur and Zafrabad. Woollen carpets were manufactured at Fatehpur during the time of Akbar.³⁴ In fact, there were in operation several carpet workshops in the areas which covered the Jaunpur kingdom. It may be noted here that Mirzapur-Bhadohi region is today the largest hand-made carpet weaving cluster, engaging around 3.2 million people in the industry and Bhadohi alone employs 22 lakh rural artisans in its 100 per cent export-oriented industry, which accounts for about 75 per cent of the Rs. 4,400 crore total carpet exports from India, exporting carpets worth Rs. 2,500 crore (approx) in 2010. Various Persian styles of carpets such as Armenian, Tabrez, Bukhara and Shiraz are manufactured there along with Indian styles of carpets also called *durry* (see Figures 12-14). It is also notable that the Indian Institute of Carpet Technology, the only Institute of its kind in Asia, was established in the city by the Ministry of Textiles, Government of India in 2001, with BTech courses in carpet and textiles technology.³⁵

It is generally believed that carpet weaving in the region dates back to the sixteenth century, during the reign of Mughal Emperor, Akbar when some Iranian master weavers stopped at Madhosingh village, near Khamaria in Bhadohi while travelling in India, and subsequently set up looms there. But it may be noted here that Jaunpur at the time of Akbar was reduced to a *sarkar* and Allahabad rose to prominence from this time. When the Jaunpur kingdom got stability and prosperity under Ibrahim Sharqi and a large number of foreign visitors from Persia, Arabia and Central Asia thronged the areas as has been witnessed by Vidyapati in *Kirtilata*, it is not illogical to assume that the carpet weaving craft in the region particularly Jaunpur, Zafrabad and Qannauj, might have begun during the time of Ibrahim Sharqi. But after the fall of the Sharqi kingdom and decline of commercial viability of both Jaunpur and Zafrabad, the craft was perhaps slowly shifted to Bhadohi which fell under the Suba of Allahabad and having been closed to Allahabad it was more accessible both through land and riverine route.



Figure 12: An Armenian Style Carpet from Bhadohi



Figure 13: Tabriz Style Carpet from Bhadohi



Figure 14: Bukhara Style Carpet from Bhadohi

During the Sultanate period, the Jaunpur-Mirzapur land route was in use for reaching from Delhi-Agra via Amroha, Rae Bareli, Kara, Dalmau to Benares. Later on during the Mughal period one could travel from Benares via Ghazipur, Buxar, Rani Sagar to Patna on the one side and from other side via Mohania, Khurramabad, Sasaram, Daudnagar to Patna and then further via Monghyr-Bhagalpur to Rajmahal and then to Bengal. Tavernier went to Patna and Bengal via this second route.³⁶ Commenting on India's overland trade route during the Mughal period Tapan Raychaudhuri has said,

The overland route from Agra to Patna followed the course of rivers, at some distance south of the waterway between Shikohabad and Chaparghata, closer to between Rampur and Allahabad and hugging the north bank between Allahabad and Benares. Between Benares and Patna, the route first moved south across the Son and then north again forming a triangle with the river as one side. Another route across riverine Bengal linked Balasore in Orissa via Midnapore, Kasimbazar, Rajmahal and Monghyr to Patna.

Tapan Raychaudhuri further adds,

The main north Indian water route was of course the Ganges, linking Allahabad to Rajmahal via Benares and Patna. Beyond Rajmahal, the trade goods moved to and from places like Malda, Hugli and Dacca along the numerous tributaries and distributaries of the same river while to the west, the Jumna linked Allahabad to Agra and the distributaries of the Ganges helped maintain commercial links with the remoter parts. Between Allahabad and Patna, and particularly in the stretch west of Benares, the Ganges was fully navigable only during part of the year during and after the monsoons. In winter the boats plied only between Patna and riverine tracts of Bengal.³⁷

In this way, the establishment and growth of Allahabad opened new routes of trade both overland and riverine and the shift of carpet industry from Jaunpur-Zafrabad to Bhadohi may be seen considering in view these new trade routes. But this shift to Bhadohi has not been noticed by Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl has mentioned about carpet manufacturing at Jaunpur, Zafarwal or Zafrabad and Qannauj only. Bhadohi has not been mentioned by him. It is not mentioned in any other source too. Irfan Habib in his *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* has shown Bhadohi in the political map of 1595 but not in the economic map of the period. This makes us to assume that the shift of the craft of carpet manufacture to Bhadohi took place sometime

later, perhaps during the time of Jahangir or Shah Jahan and not during the time of Akbar.

Textile Production

Various kinds of textiles and piece goods were manufactured at various places under the Jaunpur Sultanate. Coarse muslin and embroidered silk were manufactured at Jaunpur. Oudh was also famous for the production of coarse cloth that was known as *pāt*. On the evidence of Ibn Battuta and *Khairu'l Majālis* Irfan Habib has noted that, 'Fine fabrics, manufactured at Kara and Manikpur, were sent to Delhi market. Coarse cloth, known as *pāt* and manufactured at Awadh (Ayodhya), was carried regularly to Delhi by a prominent merchant of Awadh.' The merchants of Oudh used to send it for sale to Delhi also.³⁸ Qannauj and Benares were famous for the manufacture of muslin, calico, silk stuff as well as gold and silver brocade. Manucci who visited Benares has remarked, 'At the town of Benares and other dependents upon it are made many stuffs of silk, cloth of gold and silver, turbans, waist-belts and goods suited to women's use.'³⁹ It may be noted that the Bhakti poet Kabir (1398-1518) preached during the time of Jaunpur Sultanate since its inception. Benares where he was born and brought up was already a silk emporium where a large number of *julahas* or weaver caste used to live. Kabir himself was brought up in a weaver's family. Motichandra has noted that the weavers used to sell their stuff directly without any agent or mediator but before sale they had to obtain a kind of *dastak* or royal pass or permission for undertaking a trade in silk or cotton cloth.⁴⁰ Cloth printing had also become an established craft at least from the fourteenth century. Malik Muhammad Jayasi (1477-1542) in his *Padmāvat* has referred to *chippa-ka-sāri* that referred to printed calicos.⁴¹

In 1905 E.B. Havell who visited the holy city and wrote a book about it has said that silk cloth was used in India since the time of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* and Indians considered it purer than cotton cloths. Apart from the pure silk, silk-cotton textiles were also manufactured in Benares. Havell remarked,

The mixed fabric of silk and cotton, dyed in variegated colours, and woven in various zigzag stripes, is called mashru, or "lawful". It is still made at Benares

for Muhammadan men's garments, but it is a decaying industry. Jains and strict Hindus who object to the willful destruction of a form of life wear a coarse silk made from cocoons from which the moth has escaped.

He further adds,

In the Mogul times there was at every court a manufacture of magnificent silks and brocades worn by the sultans and their wives, and by the nobles and their wives. Muhammad Tuglak, in the fourteenth century, kept at Delhi 500 weavers to make the gold brocades worn by his wives, and lavishly distributed as royal presents.⁴²

The Arabic work *Masalik al Absar fi-Mamalika al-Amsar* of Shahab-ud Din Umari has also mentioned about it. Umri said,

The Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah) maintains a *karkhana* in Delhi for embroidery work. There are four thousand silk-workers who weave and embroider different kinds of cloth for robes (of honour) and garments. Besides, the cloth from China, Iraq and Alexandria is also embroidered here. The Sultan distributes every year two lac suits of clothes, i.e., one lac in the winter and the remaining one lac in the summer. The cloth for winter garments is imported mostly from Alexandria, while those of the summer are made of the cloth woven in the royal *karkhana* or around Delhi or imported from China and Iraq.

Umari further refers to four thousand other embroiders who made garments for the Sultan and his *harem* (royal ladies).⁴³

Havell has noted that during the British time the demand for these gorgeous fabrics decreased but in comparison to other textiles the *kincob* [*kinkhwab*] industry flourished and old pattern silk clothes and saris were reproduced on account of patronage and encouragement from the Maharaja of Benares.⁴⁴ It may be noted here that *kinkhwab* was a variety of woven brocade that was popular in the Mughal court. It was, in fact, a luxury textile and was used primarily by the aristocracy. Ritu Kumar in his work *Costumes and Textiles of Royal India* has explained about the technique of *kinkhwab* style of production which was generally done by using draw loom with some complex mechanisms which enabled the weavers to create intricate floral patterns. The floral pattern or design was first sketched by a *naqshaband* (designer) on mica or *abrakh* and then it was transferred onto a thread module or *naqsha*. 'The *naksha* was hung above the loom and attached to the warp threads. By lifting the attached threads, the corresponding pattern was created by weaving

the patterning weft threads into the warp.⁴⁵ In modern times the weavers of Benaras made new overtures in the field of silk textile production and opened up new markets for them by producing various kinds of brocade suited to Buddhists in India and abroad.⁴⁶

In later years Mau grew as a big centre for the manufacture of muslin and embroidered calico. Calico was also manufactured at Khairabad, Lucknow, Daryabad and Akbarpur while muslin was manufactured at Jalalpur from the time of Akbar or a bit earlier.⁴⁷

Production of Copper/Brass and other Miscellaneous Items

Jasmine oil was used by the people in general and elite people in particular. Jasmine oil had medicinal value also. It was mainly produced in Etawa, Qannauj and Jaunpur. Girdles were also manufactured in Jaunpur. Copper and brassware were manufactured at Benares. Regarding the metal works of Benares, Havell notes,

The other great art craft of Benares is the metal-work, including the manufacture of brass and copper idols, lamps, and sacrificial utensils, and all sorts of native cooking and drinking vessels which fill the brass bazaar. The characteristics are the *lotas* for Ganges water, made of brass and overlaid with copper, and chased with mythological figures and emblems of Shiva and Vishnu; the brass representing the river Jumna and the copper the Ganges.⁴⁸

Chunar was famous for pottery making and Oudh for horn utensils. At Allahabad grew the works of boat-building and coloured dishes.⁴⁹

Trade and Commerce

Unlike Bengal, Orissa, Vijayanagar, Gujarat and some of the Deccan states, Jaunpur had no access to the sea. The coastal regions of the subcontinent had become closely linked up with the complex network of an international trade which not only led to their commercial and industrial progress, but also significantly expedited the growth of new social and professional classes of artisans, merchants, brokers and dealers in these regions. This type of dynamism and mobility in socio-economic sphere was absent or at least restricted in Jaunpur. In spite of this disadvantage, the economy of the region was not

adversely affected. The chief reason for this was that a considerable volume of trade in the upper Indo-Gangetic belt was carried along the river routes. The flow of this riverine trade was perhaps only temporarily affected when there was warfare with Delhi Sultanate, Bengal, Orissa and Malwa. M.R. Tarafdar has expressed similar views.⁵⁰

Jaunpur: Its Markets and Trade as Reflected by *Kirtilata*

Kirtilata is Mithila's famous poet Vidyapati's poetical work composed in 1402/3 when the poet was just twenty years old.⁵¹ The poem tells the story how Kirtisimha, the Raja of Mithila, regained his lost kingdom with the help of Ibrahim Sharqi. A Turkish local chief of Muzaffarpur called Malik Arslan or Aslan had attacked Mithila and after killing Raja Ganeshwara or Ganesh Rai, the third king of the Oinvar dynasty, usurped the throne of Mithila. Kirtisimha, the son of Ganeshwara first approached the Sultan of Bengal and then the Sultan of Delhi for action against Arsalan. Having not received any assistance from any quarter he along with his court-poet Vidyapati visited Jaunpur and solicited the help of Sultan Ibrahim Shah for recovering his lost kingdom. Ibrahim Sharqi marched with an army; he crossed the river Gandak where the battle with Arsalan took place. After defeating and killing Malik Arsalan he installed Kirtisimha as his vassal in Mithila. Vidyapati has left behind a vivid description of the city of Jaunpur. His portrayal of the city and its brisk trade and market along with his narration of the power and splendour of the royal court is interesting though not entirely free from conventional elements of exaggeration.

Applauding the beauty of the city of Jaunpur, Vidyapati says that the city was soothing to the eyes and prosperity existed there. Walls and floors were constructed of stones. Pipes [most likely ceramic pipes] were used for the outlet of water from the palace. The garden of the palace was superb. It had trees and plants of varieties of fruits and flowers and greenery specially the trees of mango and *champa* (an Indian yellow flower with fragrance). The sweet humming sound of beetle enamoured the heart. Buildings were huge and beautiful. Terraces, balconies, streets, thoroughfares and river harbourages

were splendid and worth looking. The networks of roads and streets confused even the men of wisdom and learning. White flags and golden pinnacle adorned the thousands of Shiva temples. Brahmins, Kayasthas, Rajputs and other castes lived in the same locality. Good food and good places [perhaps *sarai*] were available for stay. All people were prosperous and happy. The poet and his patron, the Mithila king, stayed in Jaunpur at a Brahmin's residence that was located in the central part of the city.

Kings and princes of other regions and countries such as Telang [Telangana], Bengali, Chol and Kalinga-desh, i.e. Orissa often visited Jaunpur. They appreciated the city of Jaunpur and its king, his dignity, splendour and benevolence. The king of Jaunpur, i.e. Ibrahim Sharqi was like a god to them. The poor could also enter his *darbār* (court). Provision of water, food and rooms for offering *namāz* and taking rest were made available near the main gate of the royal palace. The dome of the palace glittered with the diamond-studded gold *kalash* (*gumbad*/pinnacle). Orchards, flower-gardens, artificial water-courses, water-fountains, square-shaped water-tanks, decorated *hindolas* (swinging cradles) added to the charm and beauty of the palace.

The city and its marketplace were crowded with a million horses and a thousand elephants. Here Vidyapati perhaps meant that horses and elephants were in great number for the purpose of sale in the market. But it may be noted that horses and elephants were not sold in a common market where the items of consumer goods of daily use were sold. There used to be separate market for the purpose. Since the Sharqi rulers were constantly in war with Delhi, Malwa, Kalpi and even Bengal and Orissa there were regular demand of horses to them and hence there might have regular *hāt* for animal-sale, particularly horses. Many of the horses were deep-shouldered, strong-backed, enduring and sure-footed. So fearless were they that they could jump over elephants also. Most of such horses were brought from across the river Indus, i.e. Persia and Central Asia perhaps.

The din and noise of crowds of people and merchants were always humming in the ears. *Kappur* (*kapur*/camphor), *kunkum* (*kesar*/saffron), *gandh* (perfumes/sandalwood?), *chaamar* (leather works), *nayan kajjal* (*kuhl*/*kajal*/collyrium), *ambra* ([various qualities of]

cloths) were sold at reasonable prices. *Hāta* (hāt/market), *pan-hāta* (betel shops), *pakkan-hāta* (eatery shops) and *mach-hāta* (fish shops) were also available. The quality of the items made of *asht-dhatu*, i.e. a mixture of eight-metals could be realized as soon as one entered the market. Vessels and dishes made of brass were sold there too. The *sarrafa bazār* for selling bullion and gold was always crowded. Gold and silver merchants occupied both sides of the street. The market-place was so large that where one market ended and the other began one did not know.

One very important item for the use of elite and royal families was perfumes of various kinds and qualities manufactured and distilled from the extracts of a variety of flowers. The areas of Jaunpur and Qannauj have been traditionally known for the production of perfumes. Jaunpur had perfume-sellers also.

Some shops sold *rikkabiye* (*rakabi*/dish or plates), *tasya* (*tashtari*/saucer), *kuza* (earthen cups/bowls), and *tavella* (tavela/pots). There were also shops selling bows and arrows. Garlic and onions were being weighed. The Turks greeted each other with a *salām* while remaining engaged in purchasing *khisa* (wallets), *paijjal* (shoes), *moja* (moza/socks) and other items. Turkish officials like *mīrs*, *wālis*, *salārs* and *khojas* went along the street consuming wine and addressing each other as ‘abe’ ‘abe’ (‘be’ in short for the Turkish honorific ‘beg’). People used to pass in groups laughing merrily and talking. Sometimes it was difficult to get passage due to elephants and big-sized [high breed] horses. The city was very crowded but beautiful and it appeared to be like Amravati.

Slaves formed a major commodity of trade in the market. They were openly sold and purchased in the market at Jaunpur. *Banjāras* brought their merchandize/grains from distant places and returned the same day after selling their articles. Noon was the high time for business works in the markets. A multitude of people could be seen in every part of the marketplace.

Several big-eyed harlots solicited people passing across the thoroughfares. Belles were clever. Belles and harlots lived in a quarter in the town near the *Shāh-rāh* or *rāj-path* (the main road). Their homes were adorned and worth admiring. They were fair, attractive and had beautiful eyes. Their appearance charmed the people. They

tried to captivate the people in several ways by braiding their hair and clipping flowers in it, wearing gorgeous and blazing dresses, as well as laughing and making fun with their companions. All these were to deceive the people and earn money. Their modesty, youthfulness, beauty and love, everything was artificial and deceptive. People with one or the other pretext liked to talk with them.

The Turks were attended by a foot-soldier who followed behind. After he had consumed cannabis, the *yavana* (Muslim/Turk) began to feel like a big lord (Khan) and shouted incoherent orders: 'Runi catch him...hack them to pieces...fetch me some *sālan* to eat...' Having stuffed his mouth, he gulped down his food with water from his jar. He always clamoured for raw onions even if the rice he had been served was as white as camphor. A dancing girl entertained him, singing songs in his praise. She bopped the whirling dance because the Turks cared for nothing else.

The Hindus and Turks lived together, each ridiculing the other's religion. The chant from the *Vedas* mingled with the call of the *muezzin*. Meat shops sold two varieties of animal flesh slaughtered differently according to Hindu and Muslim customs. There were different wards in the town for Hindus and Muslims; observances of both religions were followed diligently; some performed *pūja*, others offered *namāz*.

Along with the above descriptions of the markets, township and other details of Jaunpur Vidyapati has also mentioned that the Turks were rigid and orthodox, haughty and oppressive towards the Hindus but the power of the Sultan kept the Turks in check and control.⁵²

It is a common knowledge that the prices of articles soar during the war period. When the army of Jaunpur moved to Tirhut region, the prices increased as is witnessed by Vidyapati. But the statement of Vidyapati is greatly exaggerated sometimes. For instance, he says that water also began to be sold. *Pān* (betel leaf) was sold for a gold *tanka* and fuel [charcoal/wood?] rose up to the value of sandalwood. On the other hand, *ghee* was exchanged for horses while mustard oil for a female slave and domestics. Vidyapati has hinted regarding the prevalence of the practice of forced labour at Jaunpur at least during the wars. People were then compelled to serve even without payment.⁵³ True, there could have been some sort of forced labour at

least during war time; but exchanging *ghee* for horses and mustard oil for a female slave or domestics appears unbelievable.

Trade as Reflected from *Ardhakathanaka*

Ardhakathanaka or *Half a Tale* is an invaluable autobiographical work written in 1641 during the rule of Shah Jahan by a Srimal Jain merchant, Banarsi Das born at Jaunpur in 1586 during Akbar's time. The work was composed in a dialect which is a mixture of Brajbhasha-Khariboli and Bhojpuri, which the author calls the dialect of Madhyadesa, that was perhaps the middle-Gangetic belt. His father was a jewellery merchant at Jaunpur. Unlike other contemporary Persian chroniclers who were close to the Mughal ruling and elite classes, Banarsi Das spent his life with common men, merchants and the ordinary people.⁵⁴ His grandfather, Muldas, was also an established merchant, basically a *modi* or dealer in provisions. He also acted as a moneylender at Narwar and then at Malwa during the reign of Jahangir. He knew Persian and Hindi both but Banarsi Das did not know Persian; neither had he ever attempted to learn it. After the death of Muldas, his property and house was seized by the local Mughal chief of Narwar. In such a condition his wife with his five-year old young son, Kharagsen (1551-1616) who later became the father of Banarsi Das, moved to Jaunpur in 1556. From that time the family stayed at Jaunpur.⁵⁵ But why Banarsi Das's grandmother undertook a journey of 300 miles and moved from Narwar to Jaunpur is not known. About the long journey Mukund Lath writes, 'The Srimals were spread all over North India and they formed a close-knit clan cemented together by a strong sense of community. Mother and son must have found friendly shelter in many Srimal homes during their long journey.'⁵⁶ Jaunpur, having been a big city developed during the Sharqi period, was a significant centre of trade where Srimal Jains flourished. Madan Singh, who was a distant relation of Kharagsen on his mother's side, lived at Jaunpur. He was a jeweller dealing in diamonds and rubies. He gave shelter and patronage to Kharagsen and his mother.⁵⁷

In his travel account Banarsi Das has given a vivid picture of Jaunpur, its trade-commerce and social composition. First he has mentioned about the location and extension of the city of Jaunpur as well as the kingdom of Jaunpur under the Sharqis. Banarsi Das wrote in his autobiography that Jaunpur was simply a *sarkar* under the *suba* of Allahabad. The major part of the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur formed the *suba* of Allahabad and the *suba* of Awadh. On the other hand, Bihar formed a separate *suba*. Regarding the city [not kingdom] of Jaunpur, Banarsi Das wrote:

पूरबदेस जौनपुर गांव । बसै गोमती-तीर सुठाऊं ॥
 तहां गोमती इहि बिध बहै । ज्यै देखी त्यों कविजन कहै ॥
 प्रथम हि दक्खनमुख बही, पूरब मुख परबाह ।
 बहुरों उत्तरमुख बही, गोवै नदी अथाह ॥
 गोवै नदी त्रिविधिमुख वही । तट खनीक सुविस्तर मही ॥

*Purabdes Jaunpur gāon; basai Gomti-tīr suṭhaon
 tahan Gomti ihi bidh bahai; jyon dekhi tyon kavijan kahai
 partham hi dakhhan-mukh bahi; purab mukh parbāh
 bahuron uttar-mukh bahi; gowai nadi athāh
 gowai nadi trividhi-mukh bahi; taṭ khanik suwistar mahi*⁵⁸

Jaunpur is a pleasant city in the East, built on the bank of the river Gomti. The manner and direction in which Gomti flows; may be described by the poet [in a verse]:

First it flows to the southward; and then to the eastward
 and further on to the northward; encircling the city like a deep defensive moat
 The river protects the city from three sides; with its broad beautiful banks.

Regarding the expansion of the kingdom of Jaunpur which was three centuries old (during the time of Shahjahan), Banarsi Das says:

पूरब दिसि पटनालों आन । पच्छिम हद इटावा थान ॥
 दक्खन बिंध्याचल सरहद । उत्तर परमित घाघर नद ॥
 इतनि भूमि राज विख्यात । बरिस तीनिसे की यहु बात ॥
 हुते पुब्ब पुरखा परधान । तिनके बचन सुनेल हम कान ॥
 बरनी कथा जथासुत जेम । मर्षा-दोष नहिं लागै एम ॥

*Purab disi Patna-laon ān; pachhim hadd Etawa thān
 dakhhan Bindhyachal sarhad; uttar parmit Ghāghar nadd*

*itni bhumī rāj wikhhyāt; baris tinisai ki yahu bāt
hute pubb purkha pardhān; tinke bachan sunel hum kān
barni katha jathasrut jeim; marsha-dosh nahin lāgae eim.*⁵⁹

[Jaunpur kingdom] extends in the east to Patna;
in the west Etawa is the boundary
Vindhyaçal forms as the frontier in the south;
the river Ghaghar flows as barrier in the north
with this [small] territory the kingdom is famous;
the history of [this city] lasts for three hundred years
from the earlier and elderly clansmen;
I have heard all this story [of Jaunpur kingdom]
[I] narrated whatever I heard from them;
If any untruthfulness in it I should not be blamed.

Banarsi Das who was basically a Jain merchant, has given the description of 36 artisans and professional castes who lived at Jaunpur. They were: *Sisagar* (*Shishagar* or glass-makers), *darji* (*darzi* or tailors), *tamboli* (betel-leaf sellers), *rangwal* (dyers), *gwal* (*gwala* or milkmen), *barhai* (carpenters), *sangtarāsh* (stone-cutters), *teli* (oil-pressers), *dhobi* (washermen), *dhunia* (cotton-carders), *kandoi* (confectioners), *kahār* (litter bearers), *kachhi* (vegetable growers/sellers), *kalāl* (wine-brewers/sellers), *māli* (gardener/flower-sellers), *kundigar* (pressers of cloth), *kāgadi* (*kāghazil*/paper-makers), *kisān* (peasants), *pātbunia* (jute-weavers), *chitera* (painters), *bindhera* (artisans who bore holes in pearls and precious stones), *bari* (artisans who weave tree leaves to make containers and other articles), *lakhera* (lac-workers), *thathera* (manufacturers of metal utensils), *rāj* (masons), *patawa* (those who weave silk or cotton threads into gold or silver ornaments), *chapparbandh* (builders of thatched roofs of houses), *nāi* (barbers), *bharbhunia* (those who sell puffed rice and other cereals in a roasted form), *sunār* (goldsmiths), *lohār* (blacksmiths), *sikligar* (knife-sharpeners), *hawaigar* (manufacturers of fireworks), *dhiwar* (fishermen) and *chamār* (tanners/leather workers).⁶⁰

These professional classes have been called *paunis* by Banarsi Das. It is notable that the term *pauni* has been derived from the Hindi word *pavāna* which means 'something received as due'. Banarsi Das has called these artisans or professional classes as *paunis* most likely on account of the fact that they customarily received a fixed

share of agricultural produce in exchange for goods supplied or services rendered over the year.⁶¹ The existence of these artisans and professions is a prerequisite for any big commercial city. Jaunpur grew as a large city with brisk trade under the Sharqis and it continued as a big urban centre under the Mughals too.

After finishing his schooling, Kharagsen was initiated into the profession of trade in precious metals. He learnt the art of testing the purity of gold and silver and distinguishing good and bad coins, and the skill of moneylending and drafting bills. He now began visiting marketplaces for trade purposes.⁶²

In 1569 he went to Agra to his paternal uncle Sundar Das's house who was a bullion dealer there. He soon became his business partner. He stayed there for seven years till Sundar Das's death after which he came back to Jaunpur where he started his own business in precious metals and stones and pearls along with Ramdas Agarwal who was now his business partner. Then he got married to the daughter of a prominent merchant Kalyanmal of Khairabad, situated 230 miles from Jaunpur. Banarsi Das informs us that a year before his marriage, the people of Jaunpur suffered on account of a great famine. There was acute scarcity of food and the prices of grains had risen steeply.⁶³

Qilij Khan Andjani, the then Mughal *jagirdar* of Jaunpur tortured the Jain merchants there and extorted money from them. Due to this inhuman torture a number of Jain merchants left Jaunpur including the family of Banarsi Das. Kharagsen relocated to Shahzadpur near Kara-Manikpur and got shelter there at the house of Karamchand Mahur, a rich *bania* (provision-dealer). After about ten months of staying there Kharagsen moved to Allahabad leaving behind his family including Banarsi Das at Jaunpur where the latter engaged in earning some money by selling cowrie-shells. It is notable that the old city of Prayag was renamed Allahabad by Akbar who gave orders to build a fort there in 1574. In 1584 it was made the capital of the Suba of Agra. From this time onwards, the city of Allahabad rose to prominence. Merchants and artisans now began to flock from other areas including Jaunpur to Allahabad. Kharagsen began his business in precious stones and practised moneylending also at Allahabad. Soon he shifted his family from Jaunpur to Fatehpur which was situated 73 miles from Allahabad. But after the death of Qilij Khan

at the close of the sixteenth century, Kharagsen along with his family again went back to Jaunpur.⁶⁴

By that time, Patna had risen to be a large centre of trade. Merchants dealing in various goods from different parts of India and abroad flocked to the city. Among them were several Jain merchants too. Kharagsen therefore went from Jaunpur to Patna to arrange the marriage of his daughter which was solemnized in 1664.⁶⁵

Sometime later (in Vikram 1667), Banarsi Das was sent by his father to Agra via Etawah with some merchandise on a cart along with other merchants who went in a *caravan*. The merchandise he carried consisted of 24 rubies, 9 sapphires, 20 emeralds, 34 sundry jewels, 2 finger rings, 20 maunds of *ghee*, two large containers of vegetable oil and some bales of distinctive Jaunpuri cloth (including *angarakhas* or men's upper garments). The total value of the merchandize according to Banarsi Das was Rs. 200. Banarsi Das writes:

संबत सोलह सै सतसठा । घरकौ माल कियौ एकठा ॥
 खुला जवाहर और जड़ाउ । कागदमांहि लिख्यौ सब भाउ ॥
 द्वै पहुची द्वै मुद्रा बनी । चौबिस मानिक चौतिस मनि ॥
 नौ नीले पन्ने दस-दून । चारी गांठि चूनी परचून ॥
 एती बस्तु जवाहररूप । घृत मन बीस तेल द्वे कूप ॥
 लिए जौनपुर होइ दुकूल । मुद्रा द्वै सत लागी मूल ॥

Sambat solah sai satsaṭha; gharkao māl kiyao ekaṭha
khula jawahar aor jadau; kagad-māhin likhaiyao sab bhao
duwai pahunchi duwai mudra bani; chaubis manik chautis mani
nau nile panne das-dūn; chāri gānṭhi chuni parchūn
eti bastu jawahar-rūp; ghrit man bis tel duwai kūp
*liye Jaunpur hoi dukūl; mudra duwai sat lāgi mūl*⁶⁶

In Samvat 1667; [my father] assembled all the [merchandise]
 goods stored in the house
 loose ornaments and set-in [ornaments]; taking a piece of
 paper he wrote the price [of all goods]
 two bracelets and two finger-rings; twenty-four rubies [and]
 thirty-four sundry jewels
 nine sapphires, twenty emeralds; four bags of stone-dust [*chunni*]
 all these goods and precious stones; [in addition to] twenty maunds of *ghee*
 [and] two containers of [vegetable] oil

[also] took good quantity of distinctive Jaunpur cloths; [about] two hundred rupees was the value of the total merchandise.

Mukund Lath has commented that it is doubtful whether the total cost of the merchandize amounted to Rs. 200. He writes, 'But these words [*mudra duwai sat lāgi mūl*] are somewhat deceptive for they exclude stocks already owned by Kharagsen, of which Banarsi speaks in verse 282 [cited above]. In any case, a little reflection on the price-structure will show that Banarsi was travelling with goods worth more than 200 rupees.'⁶⁷ According to Abul Fazl, the price of *ghee* was 105 *dams*, i.e. 2 rupees 25 *dams* (40 *dams* = 1 rupee) a maund. If the price was roughly the same at Jaunpur then the cost of 20 maunds of *ghee* of Banarsi Das would be something like 2,100 *dams* (52 rupees 50 *dams*). On the other hand, the price of precious stones and cloth varied sharply on the basis of quality. Mukund Lath has tried to estimate the 200 rupees of Banarsi Das in modern currency on the basis of taking different articles for calculation. He says:

Rupees 200 would have fetched 320 maunds of milk at Abul Fazl's prices, a quantity which would today (in 1979) approximately be between 25,000 to 30,000 rupees (at retail prices, which are perhaps what Abul Fazl's figures also represent). The same sum would have fetched 70 maunds of ordinary quality wheat, which today will cost between 35,000 to 40,000 rupees. With ghee as the base we get a very different figure: 200 rupees would have fetched 75 maunds of ghee in Akbar's days; today it would cost 65,000 to 75,000 rupees. The price ratio between milk and ghee was evidently less in those days than today. Gold was Rs. 8 a tola; today it costs 150 times more; but silver which sold at Re. 1 a tola has gone up by only 15 to 18 times. Skilled labour is only paid 100 times more today than in Akbar's days. But wheat costs about 200 times more. These figures show that we cannot arrive at a sure conversion rate. Yet to make a very very rough estimate, Banarsi's 200 rupees would today mean somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000 rupees.⁶⁸

It may be noted that in the above calculation, Lath has given the figures for wheat, milk, *ghee*, gold and silver. The first three are consumable articles while the last two are precious metals. The prices of articles of both categories were cheaper then. However, for conversion purposes, Lath adopted the price of wheat only. If we compare the price index of 1979 (adopted by Lath) and the present price index of 2015 we find a sharp difference in every item whether

consumable or precious metals. However, the prices of gold and silver have been customarily used for conversion purposes. So the adoption of this method is perhaps more realistic. Since the merchandise of Banarsi Das consisted of both consumable articles like *ghee*, oil, cloth as well as precious metals particularly gold and precious stones; this author would prefer to adopt a moderate item, that is silver. Though silver was not included in the merchandise of Banarsi Das, silver for the purpose of conversion may be taken in view of it being an item which may be placed between gold and consumable articles on the basis of value. On this basis, the value of Rs. 200 would be $200 \times 401 = 80,200$ (silver coins with 90 per cent purity @ 401 per tola in Kolkata sarrafa market on 5 May 2015). In this very conservative and rough calculation, in present-day context, Banarsi Das carried a merchandize with a value of around Rs. 80,000 at least, and the estimate of the value by Banarsi Das himself was very inaccurate, as has been pointed out by Mukund Lath also. But it must be noted here that the price of *ghee*, oil, rubies, etc. are very high nowadays. It is very difficult to calculate even a rough estimate of the merchandise of Banarsi Das in terms of present rupee for the merchandise he carried.

Banarsi Das was a very careless person and he lost all his precious stones and jewels due to his carelessness. He had kept the jewels in the fold made for the string of his *pyjama*. One day when he was in the town the string of his *pyjama* suddenly broke and most of his precious stones and a necklace of pearls fell out and was lost. Some of his rubies were gnawed away by rats as he had kept them tied to the string of another *pyjama*. A revenue collector appropriated the money he had profited by selling him a pair of gem-studded bracelets. After losing all his money and merchandise, he spent six months singing *Madhumalati* and *Mrigavati*, the two narrative love ballads, in his room which was visited by some people who gathered to hear him every evening. After six months he resumed his business in precious stones in partnership with Dharamdas, an Oswal Jain who had helped him a great deal. The business continued for two years and the profits gained was all spent on paying back his dues and his maintenance.⁶⁹ Subsequently he visited Khairabad empty-handed to meet his family. His mother-in-law helped him with

Rs. 200 and asked him to resume his business afresh at Agra. He purchased some inferior quality cloth and a necklace for sale in Agra. The sale of necklace earned him a profit of Rs. 30 but the cloth had to be sold at a loss.⁷⁰ After some time his wife passed away. He soon overcame this tragedy and began his business afresh in partnership with his friend Norottam and visited Benares and Patna for trade purposes. He also befriended Amir Cini Qilij Khan, the *jagirdar* of Jaunpur, and received a *sirapa* or head to foot set of attire in honour from him. After the death of his father in 1616 (Vik 1673) he had a much chequered career. He took least interest in business, though he visited Agra for the same purpose. He married thrice and had two daughters and seven sons but none of his children survived. When he closed writing his autobiography *Ardhakathanaka* in 1641 he was fifty-five living with his third wife at Agra.⁷¹

Commenting on the career of Banarsi Das, Tapan Raychaudhuri has said,

His career was a tale of repeated failures, but he could stumble along with fresh advances of capital from the kinship group after every debacle. In the scale and manner of their operations, Banarsi Das and his family are comparable to the Armenian businessman Hovhannes whose activities have been described as 'peddling trade'. Wandering slowly from town to town the Armenian took nearly a year to sell three camel loads of cloth to buy about as many of indigo. Such minuscule trading activity within a framework of sophisticated organization was indeed a part of India's commercial world, but by no means its dominant feature. The merchant prince and the pedlar could co-exist, because of the very low cost of latter's trading operations: small trade was essentially geared to earning a subsistence living rather than profit.⁷²

One cannot deny the fact that the trade Banarsi Das carried was simply for subsistence. In fact, Banarsi Das temperamentally was not a merchant but a scholar and poet. When he got Rs. 200 from his mother-in-law to resume his business he undertook four projects simultaneously—'the writing of two books and the purchase of two different sets of merchandise'.⁷³ His autobiography establishes the fact that many Jain and Marwari merchants, both of medium and lower range, lived at Jaunpur, Khairabad, Zafrabad, Benares and Patna during the Mughal period. Naturally these business classes were not all new arrivals in these towns and cities. A large number

of them must have been actively engaged in trade rather larger scale in these areas during the heydays of the Sharqi rule. After the decline of the Sharqi rule and growth of Agra and Allahabad under the Mughals from the time of Akbar, these areas surrounding and including Jaunpur lost its dynamism and hence only medium-range business classes remained active in these areas while big merchants shifted to Agra, Allahabad and other areas including Benares and Patna. Mukund Lath observes,

Changing political circumstances constantly created new centres of power and commerce. Older towns fell into disuse and decay, forcing the Srimals and other Jains to look for new homes and new opportunities in new places. But all through this flux and commotion, the community never lost its cohesion and solidarity. Its members created a little world of their own wherever they went, retaining their perennial ties with groups living elsewhere.⁷⁴

Regarding the overland and riverine trade of Jaunpur with upper India, Delhi, Agra and beyond in the north or lower below like Bihar, Bengal or Orissa it may be noted that Jaunpur Sultanate was situated in the middle Gangetic belt as a result of which all the overland and riverine trade passed through this route. Bullock carts and oxen were generally used for the transportation of grains and merchandise as as been mentioned by Banarsi Das. Earlier, during the time of 'Muhammad Tughluq, the revenue collector of Amroha (western UP) was called upon to supply, 30,000 *mans* (or 2,641 quintals) of foodgrains to Delhi, he did so by arranging to transport this quantity on 3,000 oxen, each beast thus carrying over 88 kilograms'.⁷⁵

Overseas Trade and the Chinese Mission to Jaunpur

According to the Chinese accounts, *Ming-she* (chapters 326 and 340) and *Siu-t'ong-tien* (chapter 140) the Chinese ruler Yong-lo in 1412 on the 10th year of his reign sent an ambassador to *Sse-na-p'u-eul* or Jaunpur kingdom with the imperial mandate and gold embroidered silk and decorated clothes for presentation to the Jaunpur king *Yi-pu-la* (Ibra or Ibrahim). Eight years later in 1420 or the 18th year of the reign of Yong-lo, the ambassador in Bengal who reached China informed the Chinese king that Jaunpur king (Ibrahim Shah) had invaded Bengal several times. So a Chinese ambassador Hou-

hien was again sent to Jaunpur with presents of silk and money to convince the ruler of the kingdom that by being good to a neighbour he could save his own kingdom. Since the Jaunpur kingdom was very far from China it did not send any presents to China.⁷⁶ On the basis of the Chinese statement of 'several times' invasion of Jaunpur on Bengal M.R. Tarafdar concluded, 'Thus Ibrahim's several attacks on Bengal within the second decade of the fifteenth century vaguely reported in many other sources, get confirmation from the Chinese accounts cited above.'⁷⁷ P.C. Bagchi has deduced the same conclusion and said that 'In fact Bengal was invaded several times between 1409 and 1414 by Ibrahim Sharqi and his attacks were directed against the Hindu regime set up by Raja Ganesh in Bengal during the period.' But his conclusion is based on *The Cambridge History of India*, which he has quoted in the text along with the volume and page number.⁷⁸ This conclusion is misconceived because Ibrahim Sharqi attacked Bengal only twice and not several times. The first invasion was to chastise Raja Ganesh while the second invasion was during the time of Shams-ud Din Ahmad Shah (1433-4) as has been mentioned by Charles Stewart also.⁷⁹ It was this second invasion when the ruler of Herat, Shah Rukh, the son of Timur dispatched his envoy Al-Islam Karim-ud Din Abul Makarim Jami to Jaunpur, asking its ruler Ibrahim Sharqi to refrain from interfering with the kingdom of Bengal as has been noted by the contemporary traveller, Abdul Razzaq (1413-82). Abdul Razzaq wrote,

Shortly after this, the King of Bengal having complained of the hostilities he was suffering from Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur, sought protection from the Court, which is the asylum of Sultans; upon which His Majesty [Shah Rukh] dispatched to Jaunpur Shaikh-ul Islam Khwaja Karimu-d din Abu'al Makarim Jami, as the bearer of an imperial rescript, directing the ruler of Jaunpur to abstain from attacking the King of Bengal, or to take the consequences upon himself. To which intimation the ruler of Jaunpur was obedient, and desisted from his attack upon Bengal.⁸⁰

It may be noted here that the main objective of the two Chinese missions to Jaunpur was not simply diplomatic. Jaunpur was at that time flourishing and its prosperity and military achievements did not remain unnoticed by the Chinese ruler. Jaunpur had appeared more powerful than the Delhi and Bengal kingdoms. It was perhaps this

reason that the diplomatic relationship was established with Jaunpur whose king Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was bestowed upon with presents of gold embroidered silk, decorated clothes and money. But Ibrahim Sharqi did not extend an equally warm response most likely due to the fact that Jaunpur was a land-locked kingdom without an outlet to the sea and the regions like Bengal and Gujarat which controlled maritime trade, were hostile to it. In such a situation the opportunity for direct overseas trade to and from Jaunpur was very limited. However, in view of the strong military power, specially the cavalry maintained by the Sharqi rulers, the supply of horses particularly *babri* or *tatari* horses which were brought to various parts of India like the Deccan, Gujarat, Bengal and Delhi, make us believe that such horses which were brought by horse dealers and merchants from Persia and other countries by sea route must have been supplied to Jaunpur in great numbers. The reference to thousands of horses, many of which were deep-shouldered, strong-backed, enduring and sure-footed, in the markets of Jaunpur witnessed by contemporary Mithila poet Vidyapati in his famous work *Kirtilata* establishes this fact. Besides, the gold embroidered silk and decorated clothes which were presented to the Jaunpur ruler Ibrahim Shah did not only bear the courtesy and diplomatic value but the real objective behind these presents might have been to introduce the rich Chinese materials to the royal house to further commercial relationship between the two sovereign powers.

NOTES

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4. Afif, 359-60; *CEHI*, p. 76.
5. Barani, p. 473; *CEHI*, p. 64.
6. Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i Akbari*, vols. II-III, ed. & tr. H. Blochmann, LPP: Delhi, 2008 rpt., p. 68.
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 10. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. 3, pp. 638-9; Barani, pp. 485-6; K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1970, p. 118. Irfan Habib, 'Crops', p. 49; 'Trade and Towns', p. 127 in D.P. Chattopadhyaya, ed., *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, vol. VIII, part I: *Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500*, New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2011.
 11. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 60; Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982, rpt. 1986, pp. 8B, 32; *Kirtilata*, pp. 95-6.
 12. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 79-84.
 13. *BMC*, p. 34 (Coin no. 83); Syed Ejaz Hussain, *The Bengal Sultanate: Politics, Economy and Coins*, p. 111.
 14. *CAPIB*, pp. 93-118; Syed Ejaz Hussain, op. cit., pp. 144-5.
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 18. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 162-90, 195-7.
 19. Richard B. Barnett, 'Natural Resource and Water Conservation in 18th-Century States', *Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed Memorial Volume*, ed. Nazir Ahmad and Asloob Ahmed Ansari, New Delhi: Ghalib Institute, 1994, p. 181.
 20. *CHB*, II, I, p. 219; Saeed, pp. 47-9; S.H. Askari, 'Discursive....', p. 156.
 21. *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, pp. 15-17; Ni'matullah, ff. 50a, 65a&b, 66a.
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 24. Saeed, pp. 66-7.
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 34. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 8B, 33.
 35. Ibid., pp. 8A, 32; www.Bhadohi-Wikipedia.com; *The Times of India*, Varanasi, 9 September 2010.
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46. Monisha Ahmed, loc. cit., pp. 9-26.
47. *CEHI*, vol. I, op. cit.
48. Havell, op. cit., p. 85.
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55. Ibid., pp. 79, 82, 84.
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58. Ibid., pp. 83-4.
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60. Ibid., pp. 84, 93.
61. Ibid., p. 94.
62. Ibid., pp. 98-9.
63. Ibid., pp. 118, 120.
64. Ibid., pp. 125-30.
65. Ibid., pp. 154, 172.
66. Ibid., pp. 174-6.
67. Ibid., p. 176.
68. Ibid., pp. 176-7; *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 67.
69. Ibid., pp. 191-4.
70. Ibid., pp. 195-203.
71. Ibid., pp. 255-84.
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CHAPTER 5

Currency Pattern and Money Supply

A significant aspect of the Jaunpur Sultanate was its currency pattern that has been almost neglected by researchers. Jaunpur had developed its own independent currency system. Some published coin-catalogues and a couple of research articles have discussed only the individual coins struck by different rulers of the Sharqi kingdom. Here an attempt will be made to study the coins of the Jaunpur Sultanate on the basis of the analysis of coin-hoards found particularly in modern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Emphasis may be laid on the investigation of the currency pattern and money supply as well as the areas of circulation of coins on the basis of the coins found from different places in excavations and other discoveries.

Malik Sarwar and Mubarak Shah, the first two rulers of Jaunpur, though governed independently; neither the *khutba* was read in their names nor did they strike coins (see also chapter 1, pp. 32 and 36 above). The earliest coin from this region is reported of Prince Fath Khan issued jointly with his father Firuz Shah Tughluq in 761/1359-60.¹ This is a gold coin bearing the mint name *Iqlim-i sharq* which was struck perhaps to commemorate the foundation of the administrative unit of Jaunpur. Whether this coin was issued from Jaunpur or somewhere in its environ is difficult to precisely say. However, since the first coin of Jaunpur Sultanate stamped by Ibrahim Shah resembles in style, fabric and legend with the coin issued by Prince Fath Khan it may well be assumed that the coin dated 761 AH carrying the mint name *Iqlim-i sharq* was struck from Jaunpur itself. A similar joint-issue coin of Prince Fath Khan with his father Firoz Shah Tughluq is known from the mint *Shahr-i Patna* bearing the same date, i.e. 761/1359-60.² But Patna had not developed as a big city by that time. Patna grew and rose to prominence from the time of Sher Shah who built a fort there on the bank of the Ganges. In

view of this, the coin of Fath Khan bearing the mint name *Shahr-i Patna* has been questioned by scholars and numismatists.³

The next coin from the region was issued by Ibrahim Shah. Though he came to rule in 804/1402 his first coin is dated 813/1410-11. Ibrahim's coins are known in gold, silver, billon and copper. His gold and silver coins are very few. The gold coins bear the following legends:

[on Obverse in *tughra* character]

Al-wathiq ba-ta'id al-Rahman Abul muzaffar Ibrahim Shah al-Sultan

(He who trusts in the support of the Merciful One, the father of victorious Ibrahim Shah, the king).

[on Reverse]

*Fi zaman al-Imam/nai'b Amir al-muminin/Abul fath khulidat/
Khilafatah*

(In the time of the Imam, the Deputy of the Commander of the faithful, the father of victory, may the caliphate perpetuate).

Silver coins were also struck in the same style and with the same legend. These *tughra* style coins were struck on the pattern of the coins of the Bengal sultans who also stamped the *tughra* style of coins. It may be noted that *tughra* style of coin is supposed to symbolize the march of an army or military victory. Some Arabic letters like 'alif' and 'lam' are arranged in such a way that they give a picture of a marching army. The first *tughra* coin of Ibrahim Sharqi is dated 823/1420-1) which was issued after his military campaign to Tirhut and Bengal. Most likely this *tughra* style which he copied from Bengal symbolized his two military campaigns to these places.

The second type of his gold and silver coins were those which he stamped on the pattern of the Delhi issues. Here there appears a minor change in the legend on the reverse. It reads:

*Al-Sultan Al-a'zam/Shams-ud Duniya waddin/Abul muzaffar
Ibrahim Shah/Al-sultani khulidat/mamlakatah*

(The great sultan, the sun of the world and religion, the father of victorious, Ibrahim Shah, may his kingdom perpetuate).

The weight of his gold and silver coins followed the standard metrology of the Delhi Sultanate, i.e. approximately 11 g or a little over. The gold and silver coins of both types weigh 11.1-11.4 g.⁴

Ibrahim Sharqi's successors Mahmud Shah and Husain Shah also struck gold and silver coins on the same pattern but in the *tughra* style only. Their coins are found in very small numbers. Metrology and the legend of these coins are also almost the same. Mahmud's gold coins are about 11.6 g while Husain's gold coins are 11.8 g. The only minor difference is that they have used pedigree to glorify their name and position. It is notable that Mahmud Shah's successor Muhammad Shah did not issue any gold and silver coins. At least none has come to light till now.

Billon and copper coins formed the major currency of the Jaunpur Sultanate. Ibrahim, Mahmud, Muhammad and Husain struck coins in these base metals in huge quantities. Muhammad Shah's coins are not in as large number as compared to other Sultans because he ruled for a brief period for two years only during 861-3/1456-8 only. Ibrahim Shah's billon coins were in two denominations—*tanka* and $1/3$ *tanka* with the weight range of 9-9.5 g (or 80 *ratis*) and 3.4-3.7 g (or approx. 32 *ratis*) respectively. Ibrahim's successors followed the same metrology with a little heavier billon issues during Husain Shah's reign. The weight range of Husain Sharqi's two billon denominations was 9.7-10.3 and 3.6-4.2 g respectively. Ibrahim's billon coins carried the legend as follows:

Ibrahim Shah/Sultani khulidat/mamlakatah. [on Obverse]

Al-khalifa Amir/Al-muminin khulidat/khilafatah [on Reverse]

(and date at the bottom in Arabic figure)

Mahmud and Husain stamped their billon coins in the same style and legend. As in the case of gold and silver coins they prefixed the names of their father on billon and copper coins too. Billon coins of the Jaunpur sultans were indeed a replica of billon issues of Delhi by Firoz Shah Tughluq and his successors. Mahmud also introduced billon *jital* on the pattern of the Delhi *jitals* struck by the Khaljis and Tughluqs. His *jital* carried the legend thus:

[on the Obverse]

(In double circle): *Shah Mahmud*

(In margin around): *Nasir-ud Duniya waddin Abul mujahid*
 Mahmud Shah, the supporter of the world and religion,
 the father of the crusader.

[on the Reverse]

Bin Ibrahim Shah/Sultani [followed by date in Arabic figure]
 (Son of Ibrahim Shah, the king).

Ibrahim Shah struck copper coins in two denominations *falūs* and half-*falūs*. The weight of *falūs* was 4.5-4.7 g while half-*falūs* weighed 2.1-2.2 g. The legend on copper coins runs:

[on Obverse]

Ibrahim Shah/Sultani

[on Reverse]

Khalifah/Abul Fath

[followed by the date in Arabic figure]

Mahmud Shah, Muhammad Shah and Husain Shah stamped copper coins on the same pattern. They also struck double-*falūs* which bore the inscription *na'ib Amir al-muminin* and date on the obverse with the name of the king in a circle, and lineage in margin on the reverse. The weight range of the double *falūs* was between 9 and 9.7 g. Mahmud Sharqi's double *falūs* had the following inscription:

[on Obverse]

Mahmud Shah/bin Ibrahim Shah/Sultani khulidat/mamlakatah

[on Reverse]

Al-khalifa Amir/Al-muminin khulidat/khilafatah

[and date at the bottom in Arabic figure]

Muhammad Shah and Husain Shah followed this pattern and metrology; the only change was that they added their name and pedigree respectively.⁵

Coin-hoard Study of the Sharqi Coins

A large number of hoards of the coins of Jaunpur sultans have been found particularly in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. H.K. Prasad who published in 1970 a detailed description of the hoards of coins

maintained in the files of the treasure trove coins in the Patna Museum, included eight hoards of coins which were either related to the Jaunpur sultans or they had some coins of Jaunpur rulers along with other sultans like those of Delhi, Bengal, Malwa or Bahmani. The first hoard found from Hajipur in 1911-12 consisted of three gold and four copper coins. Two gold pieces were struck by Alauddin Khalji and the third one was a punch-marked coin. Out of the four copper coins, one belonged to Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur. The year 1915 registered two coin-hoards. Both consisted of the copper coins of Jaunpur sultans exclusively. The first hoard had 164 copper coins representing Ibrahim Shah, Mahmud Shah, Muhammad Shah and Husain Shah. Since the coins were returned to the finder, no further details could be had. The second hoard contained 18 coins out of which 11 were struck by Ibrahim Shah and seven by Muhammad Shah. Ibrahim's three and Mahmud's two coins were discovered in a small hoard from Ranchi in 1917. The hoard included a gold nose ring also. This suggests that it was a personal domestic hoard. A second hoard was reported from Ranchi in 1939. It had 20 gold coins out of which one belonged to Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (Figure 15). The hoard consisted of 12 coins of Delhi sultans, three of the Malwa sultans, two of the Bengal sultans and one of the Bahmani sultan. One gold coin represented the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Interestingly,

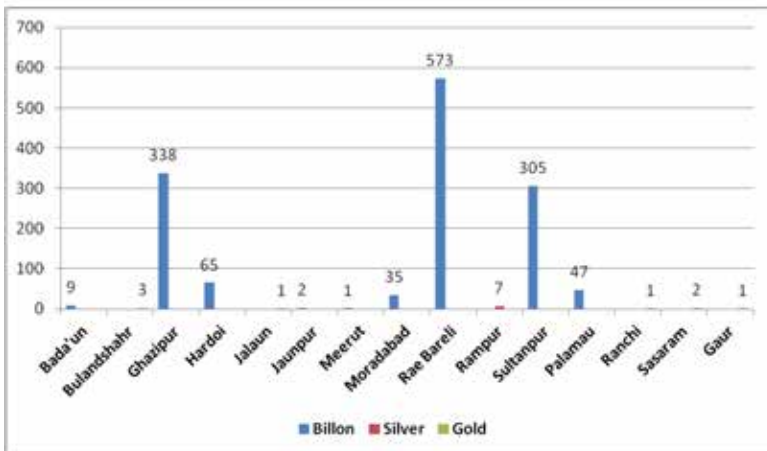


Figure 15: Gold, Silver and Billon Coins: Place-wise

the mint of Akbar's coin was Jaunpur. It was dated 980 AH (AD 1572-3).

A single hoard of billon coins, all of Jaunpur sultans, was unearthed from a paddy field at Palamau, now in Jharkhand, in 1941. This hoard had 22 billon coins of Ibrahim Shah and 25 of Husain Shah. Mahmud Shah and Muhammad Shah were represented by two and one coins respectively (Figure 16). A hoard of some 18 gold coins was found scattered from Shergarh in Sasaram in 1943. This hoard had two gold coins of Jaunpur sultans, one of Ibrahim Shah and the other of Husain Shah. The other coins found in this hoard were of Delhi sultans, Bengal sultans, Gulbarga sultans and Raja of Mysore. The first two, i.e. Delhi and Bengal sultanates are represented by six and eight coins while the last two i.e. Gulbarga and Raja of Mysore has each coin in the hoard (Figure 15).

The Uttar Pradesh coin hoards published by A.K. Srivastava in 1980 had 33 such finds that contained the coins of Jaunpur sultans. Out of the 33 hoards 17 contained copper coins, 11 billon coins while three hoards had gold coins which were found mixed with the coins of Delhi and other sultanates. Ibrahim Shah who was the first ruler to strike coins is represented in seven finds of coins. Out of these, four are the copper hoards while there are three billon finds. In 1891, a small hoard of 41 copper coins was discovered from Allahabad and

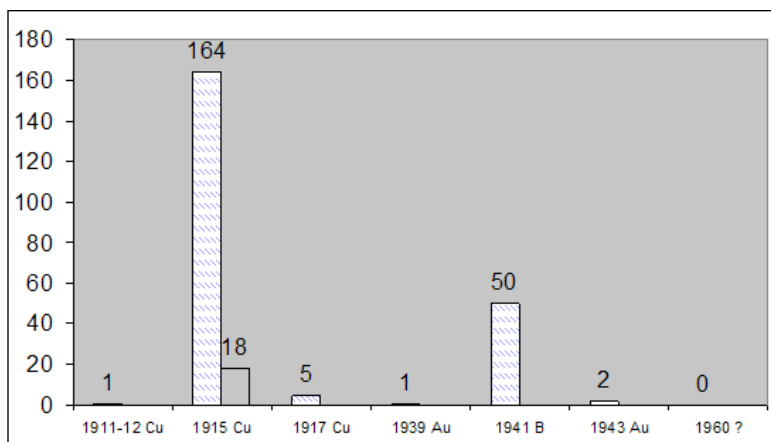


Figure 16: Jaunpur Coin Hoards from Bihar

all these coins were issued by Husain Shah. In a hoard discovered in 1892 from Nainital, now in Uttarakhand, 28 silver and 169 copper coins were found, out of which six copper coins were of Ibrahim Shah, while Mahmud Shah, Muhammad Shah and Husain Shah had 17, 28 and 118 copper coins respectively. The next hoard was found in 1897 from Sultanpur. It consisted of 185 copper coins of which 17 coins were struck by Husain Shah and the rest of the coins in the hoard belonged to Delhi sultans and Mughal rulers as well as Awadh *nawabs*. A considerable big hoard from Allahabad was found in 1901-2. It had 389 copper coins of Husain Shah. The next big discovery was in 1909-11 of 486 copper coins of Husain Shah from Banda district (Figure 17). In 1913-14, three hoards were reported from Jalaun, Nainital and Sultanpur respectively. The first two hoards contained 160 and 334 copper coins of Husain Shah. The total number of coins in the first hoard included two gold, 166 silver and 161 copper coins. The gold coins were struck by Firuz Shah Tughluq and silver coins were mostly of Shah Alam II. Out of the copper coins one belonged to Sikandar Lodi. The second hoard which had 334 copper coins of Husain Shah included 13 silver and 322 copper coins of the Mughal rulers like Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Muhammad Shah II (Figure 19). The third discovery contained 281 billion coins exclusively of Husain Shah (Figure 19). Three finds were reported in 1916-17 from Ghazipur, Sultanpur and Moradabad respectively. The Ghazipur hoard had 338 billion coins (Figure 15) and the Sultanpur hoard contained 25 copper coins (Figure 18), both of Husain Shah only, while the Moradabad find consisted of a small collection of 35 billion coins out of which Ibrahim Shah was represented by 5, Muhammad Shah 13 and Husain Shah 17 (Figure 19). It is notable that Figure 15 has shown the total billion coins, i.e. 305 (11 + 13 + 281) found from three hoards as discussed above.

The year 1929-30 recorded two discoveries, one from Hardoi and the other from Meerut. Hardoi find had 65 billion coins of Husain Shah (Figure 15) while Meerut hoard contained one silver and 370 copper coins belonging to other than Jaunpur rulers. The silver coin was a two-*anna* denomination of Shah Alam II issued from Murshidabad mint and the rest belonged to the late Kushanas and Chauhans of Delhi, Delhi sultans as well as six copper coins of

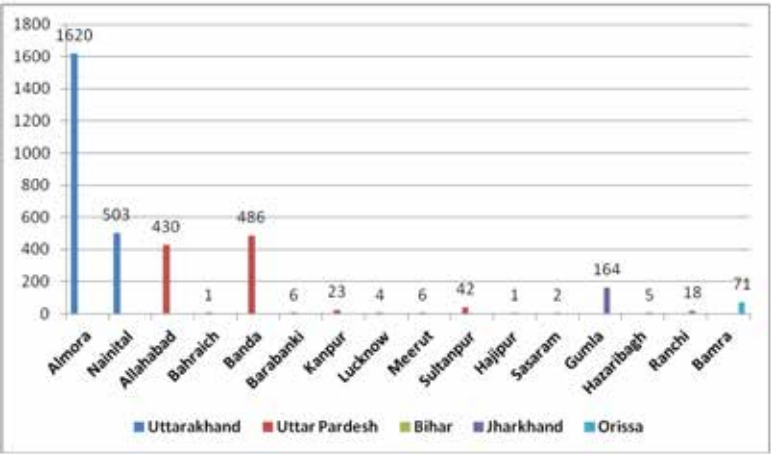


Figure 17: Copper-Coin Hoards: Place-wise

Jaunpur sultans of which two belonged to Ibrahim Shah and four to Husain Shah (Figure 17). The hoard displays a peculiar collection, the earliest one of late Kushana while the last of Shah Alam II. Eleven billon coins of Ibrahim Shah mixed with 43 billon and two copper coins of Delhi sultans, were discovered from Sultanpur in 1932-3 (Figure 18). A huge collection of 1620 copper coins of Husain Shah was found from Almora, now in Uttarakhand, in 1936-

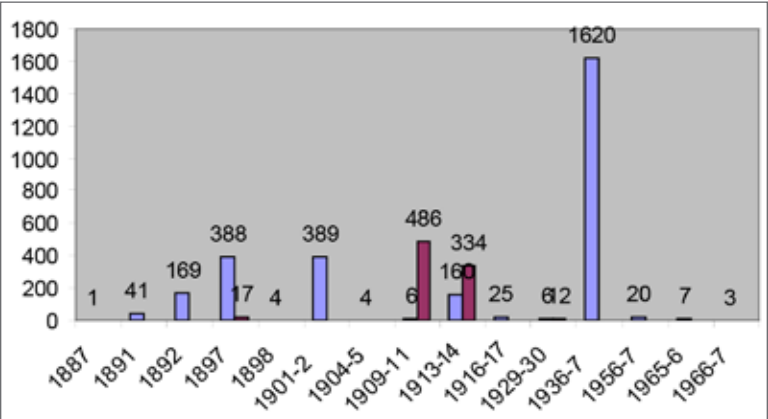


Figure 18: Copper-Coin Hoards from Uttar Pradesh

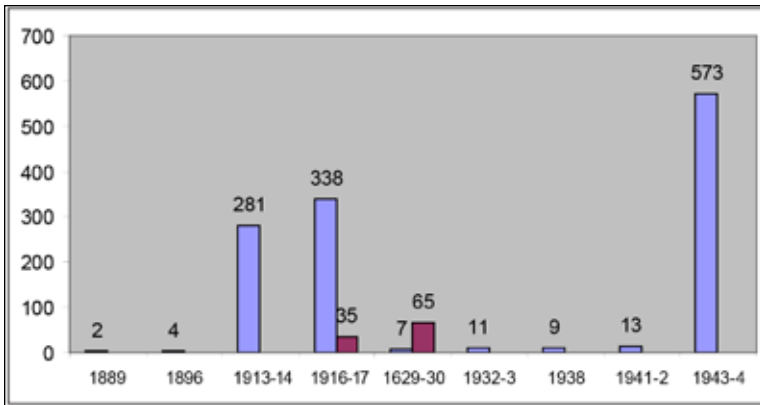


Figure 19: Billon Coin Hoards from Uttar Pradesh

7 (Figure 17). Two small billon finds were reported, one in 1938 from Bada'un and the other in 1941-2 from Sultanpur. The Bada'un find contained 9 coins of Husain Shah only but the Sultanpur find had one coin of Mahmud Shah and twelve of Husain Shah. Another huge hoard of 573 billon coins was reported in 1943-4 from Rae Bareli (Figure 15). This hoard had 74 coins of Ibrahim Shah, 225 of Mahmud Shah, 34 of Muhammad Shah and 210 of Husain Shah. Two discoveries of coins were recorded from Kanpur, one in 1956-7 and the other after a decade in 1966-7. The first hoard was small, consisting of 12 gold and 20 copper coins. The gold coins were struck by the Delhi sultans and the copper coins were struck by the Jaunpur sultans; of the Jaunpur sultans, eight were struck by Ibrahim Shah and 12 by Mahmud Shah (Figure 18). A very large hoard of 2,851 silver and 787 copper coins with 245 silver alloy was discovered from Rampur in 1965-6. The hoard started from punch-marked coins and terminated with British colonial issues of India. It had seven copper coins of Husain Shah (Figure 18).

It is notable that some 71 copper coins of the Jaunpur Sultans were discovered in 1950 from Orissa. Twenty-two coins of this hoard belonged to Husain Shah who had invaded Orissa as described in Chapter 1. Most likely their coins were carried by the soldiers of Jaunpur to Orissa during these military campaign there. One gold coin of Ibrahim Sharqi was reported from Gaur (Malda district of

West Bengal) in 1993 in a mixed hoard of eleven gold coins belonging to Delhi, Malwa, Kashmir and Madura sultanates.⁶

Currency Pattern as Reflected by the Sharqi Coin Hoards

Sharqi coins discovered from the coin hoards found from different parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar give an idea of the money supply and money circulation zone of the regional kingdom (Figures 15 & 17). A total of 41 hoards of coins were reported from various parts of these two provinces which point to the fact that billon and copper coins formed the major currency of the Jaunpur Sultanate. Out of the eight hoards discovered from Bihar, only three gold coins have been reported, one in 1939 and two in 1943. While the coin finds in Uttar Pradesh recorded only five gold coins of Husain Shah; one was discovered in 1897, and the other in 1905-6 and the third one in 1926-7. This shows that the supply of gold to the Jaunpur Sultanate was scarce and a few gold coins struck by the Sharqi rulers were perhaps only commemorative.⁷

What is surprising as it appears from the coin hoard study is that not a single silver coin of the Sharqi rulers is reported in any coin hoard of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or even Orissa. However, a few silver coins of Ibrahim Shah and Mahmud Shah are known. They are extremely scarce. Husain Shah's silver coins are not found. On the other hand, we get a huge quantity of silver coins in different types and varieties of the sultans of Bengal during the same period. In fact, the major currency of the Delhi Sultanate was also billon/copper coins during that time. After the decline of the Tughluq dynasty the flow of silver to the Delhi Sultanate diminished on account of the rise of independent provincial sultanates like Gujarat and Malwa. On the other hand, Bengal during the Husain Shahi period grew into a strong power. These regional powers controlled the sea and land route trade and the precious bullion i.e. silver was perhaps not allowed to move in considerable quantity towards northern India. Since the movement of precious metals to Delhi or Jaunpur was negligible, their currency also was not silver based. They minted their coins in billon and copper.

Very recently John S. Deyell in his well articulated paper titled, 'Precious Metals, Debasements and Cowrie Shells in the Medieval Indian Monetary Systems, c. 1200-1575', has shed some light on the rise of regional powers and character of their individual currency systems in the fifteenth century. Deyell says,

By the fifteenth century, India had once again fragmented into regional kingdoms (see Figure 10.1 [excluded here]), each of which had a coinage system that reflected local preferences and available metal supplies. Thus, for example, peninsular Vijayanagara had a prolific gold coinage derived from the Kolar goldfields; the Bahmanid sultanate of the Deccan utilized a plentiful copper coinage based on abundant local sources and a silver coinage based on bullion imports from the west coast maritime trade; the landlocked north Indian Delhi and Jaunpur kingdoms relied almost exclusively on billon (silver alloy) or copper coins, while the coastal kingdoms of Gujarat in the west and Bengal in the east managed to sustain relatively pure silver coins.⁸

Billon and copper was the only major currency of the Jaunpur Sultanate. Figure 19 displays the total number of coins found in the hoards discovered from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It reveals that Ibrahim Shah, Mahmud Shah and Husain Shah who ruled for comparatively longer period for 38, 17 and 21 years respectively, are very unevenly represented in hoard-finds. The highest number of copper and billon coins viz. 3208 and 689 respectively were struck by Husain Shah while Ibrahim Shah and Mahmud Shah's figure is very low (Figure 20).

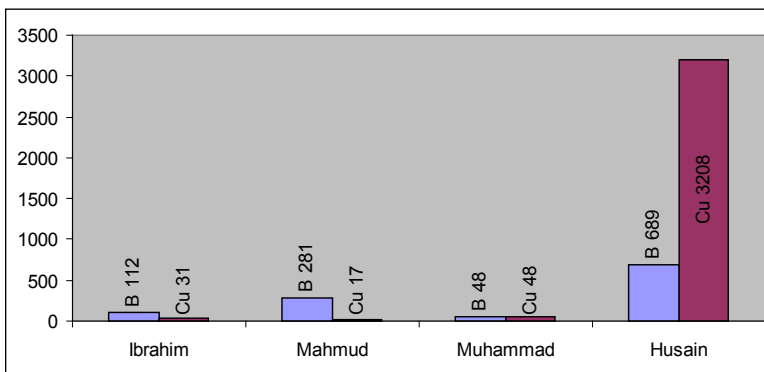


Figure 20: Quantifying Billon/Copper Coins

Money Circulation Zone of the Sharqi Rulers

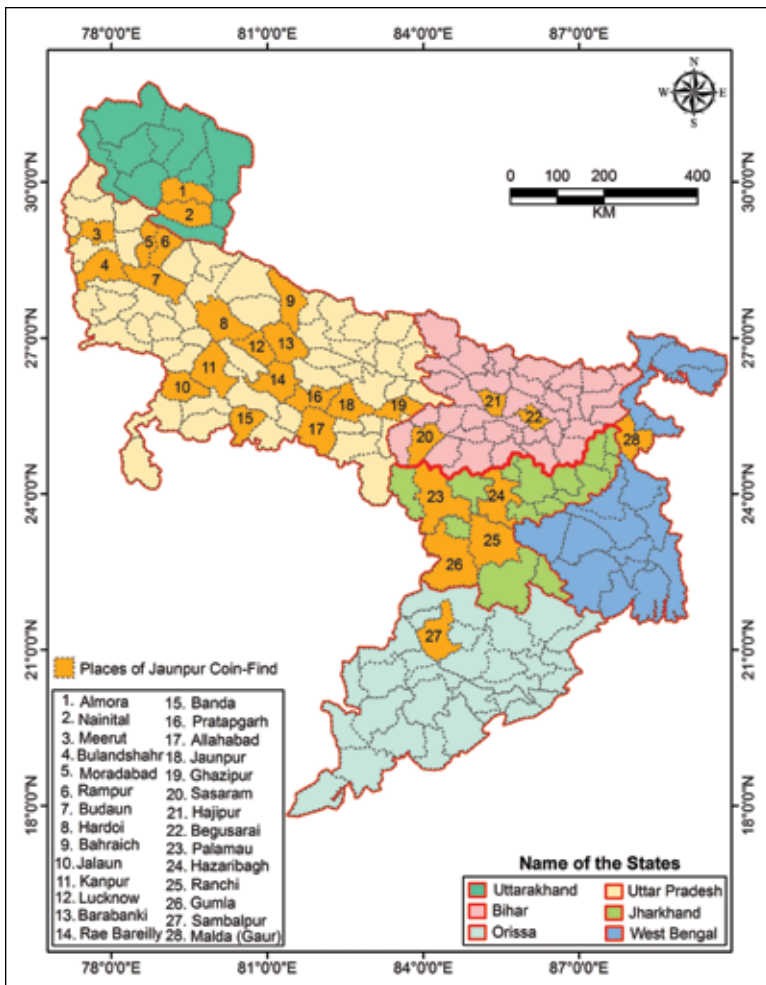
The coin finds also reflect the money circulation zone of the Sharqi rulers. Out of the coin hoards discovered from old Uttar Pradesh, two mints, viz., Almora and Nainital, are now located in the newly-formed state of Uttarakhand. Two big hoards have been reported from Nainital; one was found in 1892 consisting of 169 copper coins representing all four coin-issuing rulers, viz., Ibrahim Shah (6), Mahmud Shah (17), Muhammad Shah (28) and Husain Shah (118). The next discovery from Nainital was in 1913-14. This hoard had 13 silver and 656 copper coins of which 334 copper coins were of Jaunpur rulers Muhammad Shah and Husain Shah. In 1936-7 a huge find of 1,620 copper coins of Husain Shah was discovered from Almora. The coins found from the neighbouring areas like Sultanpur, Allahabad, Pratapgarh and Ghazipur were considerable in number. Sultanpur registered as many as six coin hoards while Kanpur, Lucknow, Barabanki, Jalaun and Jaunpur recorded two coin hoards each respectively. Other places where Jaunpur rulers' coins were discovered were Meerut, Moradabad, Rae Bareilly, Rampur, Bada'un, Bahraich, Banda, Bulandshahr and Hardoi. These places undoubtedly fell within the coin-circulation zone of the Sharqi Sultanate (Map 4).

Bihar was, however, equally important from the money circulation point of view. The Jaunpur Sultanate coins have been discovered from Sasaram, Hajipur and Begusarai in Bihar, and Hazaribagh, Palamau and Ranchi of present Jharkhand. Since the Jaunpur sultans controlled large areas of Bihar their coins circulated in these areas also (Map 4).

In spite of this we would tend to agree to the view of John S. Deyell that,

As might be expected of the local coinage of the regional kingdoms mentioned earlier, their coins circulated within a tighter circuit: by and large, within the political boundaries of the state. Malwa Sultanate coins are found in Madhya Pradesh; Gujarat Sultanate coins in Gujarat; Bengal Sultanate coins in Bengal, etc. Prior to the Suri era (*c.* 1538), very few of the sultanate copper or silver coins travelled very far.⁹

Fabric, size, weight and metal-content of these coinages of various regional kingdoms were so meticulously maintained that the



Map 4: Jaunpur Coins Found from Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal

individual character of the coinage was never lost. This was done in order to ensure the money supply to the monetary zone of the kingdom. In this connection, Deyell has pointed that 'Differentiation of design tended to help conserve and retain the money supply within the kingdom, by limiting its acceptability elsewhere. That was certainly true in the case of Delhi and Jaunpur, whose billon coinage was of uncertain (not readily detectable) precious metal content.'¹⁰

Was Jaunpur Billon/Copper Coinage, a Fiat Coinage?

Fiat is a Latin word and it stands for 'it shall be'. Fiat coinages are categorized those coins which do not carry any intrinsic value or they do not have real value of their own. It means that the value of the material that the money is made of is cipher and it is used solely as a means of payment recognized by the authority or government. It is a legal tender and it functions as long as the public faith resides in the authority of the issuer, i.e. the government. A fiat money is inconvertible and it cannot be redeemed. Our modern coins and paper currency is a fiat money. Fiat money is totally different from the commodity money. Commodity money is based on a good, often a precious metal such as gold or silver which has its own real value and due to this it is always convertible and it may easily be redeemed. The first fiat money in the world was a paper currency issued in China by the S'ung dynasty in AD 1023. Kublai Khan, the founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China also issued paper currency that was known as *Chao*.

In India the introduction of token currency by Muhammad bin Tughluq may be regarded as a case of fiat money. Muhammad bin Tughluq had made an appeal to the people on the very body of the coin to accept the copper coins at par with the value of silver *tanka*. His token currency carried the legend: *mohr shud tanka rai'j dar rozgar bandah ummidar* (stamped as silver *tanka* the [token coin] would be hopefully accepted by all). But this arrangement was then not successful.

So far as the Lodi's *bahlolis* are concerned Deyell has treated them as fiat coinage. Deyell notes,

Since the *bahlolis* in general show no evidence of 'shroff marking' (counter-stamping by money-changers), it is clear they were not discounted in circulation because of age or poor metal content. Hence we may conclude that they were largely a fiat coinage, passing by authority and sanction rather than by virtue of their metallic soundness.¹¹

What Deyell has posited about the Lodi's *bahlolis* the same observation may be articulated about Jaunpur's billon and copper coins which formed their chief currency. In fact, there is no question of shroff-markings on billon and copper coinages. In Jaunpur billon

pieces the percentage of silver was always lesser than the *bahlolis*. They were money of account and were used in almost all types of transactions in the kingdom. Hence we may not have any hesitation in calling Jaunpur billon/copper coinages as fiat money. Deyell holds the similar view. He observes,

One classic solution for this monetary conundrum was the use of a fiat or fiduciary coinage, subject to episodic or systematic debasement, when the state was faced with shortfalls in bullion supplies. Such was the fate, for example, of circulating coinages in the landlocked Delhi and Jaunpur sultanates in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹²

Mint Name not Found on any Sharqi Coins, Why?

One very pertinent question regarding Jaunpur coinage is that we do not find any mint town on any coin of the Sharqi rulers. On the other hand, when Bahlol Lodi defeated Husain Shah and captured a large proportion of the Jaunpur kingdom, he struck his coins from the Jaunpur mint. Mughal coins like those issued by Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and others carry the mint name Jaunpur. Humayun's coins carried the mint-name as *Dar-ul zarb Jaunpur Khitta Mubarak* while Akbar called it *Jaunpur Dar-ul khilafah*.¹³ Then why did the Jaunpur rulers not mention the mint name on their coinages? Before finding a possible answer to this, one should also keep in mind that Husain Shah, the last Sharqi ruler finally lost his entire kingdom after the battle of Benares in 1494. After some abortive attempts to recover his kingdom he died sometime in 905/1499 but his coins are known as late as 919/1513. So, the question also arises who struck these coins when the kingdom was captured by the Lodis and the last king Husain Shah Sharqi had already passed away. One possible answer for missing the name of the mint on the Jaunpur coins might be that the Sharqi rulers perhaps adopted it as a policy from the politico-strategic viewpoint not to disclose their commercial activity radiated through the mintage of coins in order to bemuse their sworn enemy, particularly the Lodi rulers of Delhi. On the other hand, we find the mint-name on the coins of the contemporary Lodi rulers of Delhi as well as the sultans of Malwa, Bengal and other kingdoms. But mint-name is not found on any of the coins of the Sharqi rulers.

C.J. Brown has noted, 'Only one coin, a large piece of Mahmud in the British Museum, is known to bear the mint name Jaunpur' (*The Coins of India*, 1922: 85). But the mint name is not clearly inscribed. So it is doubtful. Later on when the Mughal rulers came to power and occupied the region of Jaunpur they struck their coins from Jaunpur and unforgettably inscribed the mint-name on each of their coins.

Other reason for the absence of mint-name on any of the Sharqi coinage might be the practice of adopting mint farming by the Sharqi rulers or grant of some greater autonomy in the process of coin-production. Sharqi sultans remained engaged in continuous wars with the Lodi rulers of Delhi. Besides, they attacked Bengal, Mithila, Orissa and Kalpi. In such a condition their constant military engagements required them to be always prepared with necessary numbers of war-animals like high-breed horses, arms and equipment along with other supplies for which regular and uninterrupted flow of money to the market was a prerequisite. So it is also a possibility that the entire work of minting coins was perhaps vested in a private corporation who struck similar type of coins from several places as per their convenience and supply of bullion. This possibility appears more logical and convincing in the given situation the Sharqi rulers were embroiled in. However, the practice of omitting mint-name from their entire coinage as a policy is undoubtedly a fact and very unique in the arena of entire medieval Indian coinage and history.

So far as the posthumous issue of Husain Sharqi's coins are concerned it may be said that the mintage and coin production work in Jaunpur was perhaps not wholly controlled by the government. The *sarraf*s and bullion dealers who enjoyed greater autonomy together formed a corporate body; they most likely had struck the posthumous coins somewhere from eastern Uttar Pradesh or Bihar in order to sustain the market networks and bullion supply.

It is to be noted here that the nearby copper mines which supplied copper in abundance to the mints of Jaunpur was also in private hands and agents brought the copper to the mints. *Ain-i-Akbari* has informed that copper mines were available at places like Babai, Singhanah Udaipur and Kotputli; all the three places were situated in Sarkar Narnol where the copper mines were located for long. Bairat in Sarkar Alwar also had a copper mine. It was a very profitable mine

as Abul Fazl has remarked and said that out of a maund weight of copper ore 35 *sers* of copper metal was obtained.¹⁴

Theory of Melting of Jaunpur Silver Coins

We have mentioned above that the major currency of the Sharqi rulers formed the billon/copper coins. Gold and silver *tankas* were struck by each of the rulers except Muhammad Shah. But Sharqi gold coins are rare and their silver coins even rarer. Ibrahim came to power in 804/1402 but his earliest gold coin is dated 823/1420. It is indeed a mystery why his coins are not known even in copper for almost eighteen years since his coming to power. Perhaps he followed the policy of his predecessors of not issuing his own coins but wielding an independent position. It was three years after his attack on Bengal (820/1417-18) that we find coins struck in his name as is noticed from the coins known to us till now. His gold coins are of two varieties, one in *tughra* style and the other in simply *naskh* style of years 823, 826, 830-6, and 841-4 AH. But his silver coins known in three varieties i.e. circular *tughra*, square *tughra* and simple *naskh*, are very scarce and they are dated 822, 823 and 843 AH. Mahmud Shah's gold and silver coins are only in *tughra* style with gold bearing the date 846-7 and 855-6 AH. The date on silver is mostly truncated; perhaps 846 or 847 AH only. Husain Shah's gold coins issued only in *tughra* style bear the years 860, 865, and 877 AH while his silver coins are extremely scarce with the date truncated but the present author has not seen his any silver coin.¹⁵ Billon/copper coins of the Sharqi rulers are in two-three varieties and they are found in huge quantity. In such condition, the numismatists generally believe that the gold and silver coins of the Sharqi rulers were melted on the order of Sikandar Lodi who finally defeated Husain Shah and thus ended the Sharqi rule. This theory of melting coins requires some investigation and debate.

Melting of Sharqi Silver Coins by the Lodis

It is strongly believed that the Sharqi rulers did strike silver coins but they were most likely melted by the Lodis particularly Sikandar Lodi, who had vowed to destroy all the signs and vestiges of the Sharqi

rulers. This argument appears logical but one point must be kept in mind that a ruler could and did melt the coins found in the treasury or possession of the vanquished ruler or predecessor for simple reason of issuing fresh coins out of them in their name. But the coins preserved in private possession or hoarded by individuals and merchants could not be wholly procured or forced to be surrendered. Even if a ruler passed such a mandate of which we do not have any instance except in the case of Muhammad bin Tughluq's token currency which had a very different context, it was not simply possible to force each and sundry to surrender their personal collection of coins. It means that if the Sharqi rulers had issued silver coins they must have come out in the hoards discovered from various places, at least from Uttar Pradesh or Bihar, the two regions which formed the core of the Sharqi kingdom. But we have seldom found any Sharqi silver coin in a hoard of coins exclusively of the Sharqi rulers or a mixed hoard of coins with Sultanate or/and Mughal coins till now. This suggests that Sharqi rulers hardly issued silver coins; their gold coins carried only prestige or commemoration value. Ultimately this confirms our theory that Sharqi rulers adopted chiefly a mono-metallic monetary system as their chief currency was billon/copper coins. In such a condition the theory of melting of the Sharqi silver coins by the Lodis is falsified. Besides, had Sikandar Lodi melted Sharqi silver coins he must have re-used the metal by striking his own silver coins. But we do not find Sikandar Lodi's silver coins in sufficient size to support this argument. Furthermore, Husain Shah who, after having been defeated, shifted to Kahalgaon near Bhagalpur where he remained, alive under the shelter of Husain Shah of Bengal, must have carried his movable property particularly gold/silver both as coins and in the shape of ornaments which he might have utilized for raising an army to attack the Lodis in Jaunpur. But we do not find any clue of his having possessed silver coins.

Melting of Sharqi Gold/Silver Coins by Individuals, Sarrafs and Goldsmiths

Another theory regarding the absence of Sharqi gold and particularly silver coins as believed is that Sikandar Lodi who had given order to his army to demolish all the Sharqi architecture and edifices

might have passed a general order to individual citizens, *sarrafs* and goldsmiths to either surrender or melt the Sharqi gold and silver coins, and out of fear they might have ostensibly obeyed the royal order. But we do not find any reference to this in any contemporary or near contemporary literature. But even if such an order had been passed it could have not been possible to force each individual citizens, *sarrafs* and goldsmiths to surrender or melt their hoarded money. Here again our assumption that Sharqis rarely struck gold/silver coins gets weightage.

In the absence of gold and silver coins of Delhi's Lodi rulers who were contemporaries of the Sharqis of Jaunpur, it is said that Lodis also rarely issued gold/silver coins and *bahloli* billon formed the major currency of these rulers. John F. Richards remarks,

No gold or silver coins have been found of the types and denominations that earlier dynasties normally minted at Delhi. Instead Bahlul Lodi (1451-1489) issued large numbers of mixed-metal coins containing a small proportion of silver to copper (termed billon). These less-valuable *buhlulis* replaced the gold and silver *tankas* that were the customary coinage of the earlier Sultans of Delhi.¹⁶

In fact, the main reason for striking billon and copper coins was not by choice but under duress of the abnormal scarcity of precious metal as has been informed by the contemporary work *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, which says that 'gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty (*amma wajūd-i zar wa nuqra kamyab shud* - اما وجود زر و نقره کمیاب شد).'¹⁷ But some amount of gold/silver must have reached Jaunpur from Tirhut, the tiny kingdom in north Bihar because Ibrahim Sharqi as informed by Vidyapati in his famous poetical work *Kirtilata*, restored Kirtisimha, the Raja of Mithila to power by defeating and killing the local chief Malik Arslan or Aslan who had attacked Mithila and usurped power there. Henceforth Tirhut remained as a tributary of Jaunpur till the time of Husain Shah Sharqi. The annual tribute paid by Tirhut to the Jaunpur ruler must have been in silver *tankas*. This may well be established on the evidence of *Babur Nama*. Babur has recorded that Rup Narain, the Raja of Tirhut paid a tribute of 2,55,000 silver *tankas* and 27,50,000 black (copper) *tankas*.¹⁸ Since Tirhut paid revenue in silver to Babur it is expected that since Tirhut maintained an independent currency from earlier time they must have paid tribute to Jaunpur also in silver

cash. And having been starved with silver the Sharqi rulers must have preferred tributes in precious bullions like gold and silver.

After Husain Sharqi's defeat in 1479, Sikandar Lodi began to tighten the noose around the local chiefs in the areas of erstwhile Jaunpur kingdom by undertaking military campaigns and compelling them to surrender and pay revenue/tribute. Gold and silver began to pour in Delhi's royal coffer. On the basis of the evidences culled out from *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi* and *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana* J.F. Richards has displayed that some maunds of gold were immediately received from the Rai of Dhulpur [Kalpi] and Bari respectively and then 7 *maunds* of gold from the Raja of Bihar who was perhaps a local chief of Champaran.¹⁹ This again establishes that these local chiefs earlier also must have paid tributes/revenues to the Sharqi rulers in cash in the form of gold and silver. But if the precious metal was available in sufficient quantity why did the Sharqi rulers opt for a debased currency of billon/copper? Addressing similar question in connection with the Delhi's Lodi rulers whose major currency formed billon/copper coins, J.F. Richards has explained that the Lodi's 'new administrative and military class [forming Lodi, Lohani, Farmuli and Sherwani clans] whose first allegiance was to the clan and tribe, not the Sultan', limited the economic power and resources of the Sultan as 'most of the revenues of the kingdom did not return to the centre for redistribution' but remained with the nobles who generally held large assignments and controlled administrative and economic power in their respective areas. So the Lodi Sultan adopted a policy of striking debased coinage and used this method as 'a weapon aimed at reducing the incomes of the assignees and their power. It was also a move to assert the power of the Sultanate over the internal affairs of the assignees and dependent chiefs' because in the absence of 'adequate storage facilities' the nobles and assignees who collected the revenue in grains were compelled to hastily sell the grain at any price in order to obtain cash for their personal expenses which included the payment of troops and retainers, who tended to revolt when their pay ran into arrears. In this way 'the nobles were clearly at a disadvantage'.²⁰ This theory of J.F. Richards establishes that the Lodis maintained sufficient quantity of precious metal, i.e.

gold and silver, but out of politico-economic duress they chose to strike debased coins in billon and copper.

If we accept this theory, then the question arises why did the Sharqi rulers, a closer neighbour of the Delhi Empire, chose to issue debased coins in billon and copper? Did they face the same political situation as the Lodis? Perhaps not, because the nature of formation of the Sharqi nobility was quite different. Turks, Persians, Sayyids and Pathans formed the nuclei of the Sharqi nobility. But at the same time the Rajput landlords were their chief allies, and this changed the character of the Sharqi state. Hence the theory of J.F. Richards regarding issue of debased coins by the Lodis of Delhi cannot be applied to the Jaunpur kingdom. Scholars are required to further ponder and debate over this question.

Some Museum Collections of Jaunpur Coins

The present author had an opportunity to study the collections at Patna Museum, Lucknow Museum as well as Bharat Kala Bhavan of Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. The major collection of coins of the Sharqi rulers preserved in these public repositories form the copper and billon issues. Bharat Kala Bhavan has preserved one gold coin of Ibrahim Sharqi and the rest are billon and copper coins. The Patna Museum has three gold coins which could not be shown to the author. Patna Museum has preserved a huge number of copper and billon coins of Ibrahim Shah and Husain Shah and some copper issues of Mahmud Shah. Muhammad Shah's copper and billon coins are very few. So far as the Lucknow Museum is concerned they maintain highest number of billon and copper coins of the Sharqi rulers.

The present author had an opportunity to study the Jaunpur coins at the British Museum, London and Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge also. The British Museum, has maintained five Sharqi gold coins of which two belong to Ibrahim Shah, one to Mahmud Shah while the rest two to Husain Shah Sharqi while the Fitzwilliam Museum has preserved a gold coin of Ibrahim Sharqi. Besides, a large number of billon and copper coins are preserved in the two museums. Our Illustration (Plate 2, coin no. 12) displays Firuz Shah Tughluq's

billion coin preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Jaunpur coins in billon and copper metal broadly followed the same style, pattern and metrology.

Besides, a good number of Mughal coins from Jaunpur mint are known in public and private collections. Mughal rulers, particularly from Babur to Aurangzeb, struck coins from the Jaunpur mint mostly in silver and some copper. Most of their coins carry the mint name Jaunpur and the date of issue. Some of these Mughal coins are described and illustrated at the end in the corpus followed by Plates 4-11.

NOTES

1. H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 1936, rpt. New Delhi, 1974, coin no. 745; *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p. 67.
2. Wright, coin no. 745A; *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, op. cit.
3. *CHB*, II (II), p. 202.
4. *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, op. cit., pp. 344-5 has described and illustrated three silver coins of Ibrahim Shah. Out of three one (coin no. J3) is circular *tughra*, coin no. J4 is square *tughra* while coin no. J5 is a circular *naskh* calligraphy.
5. *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, pp. 344-8; H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II, Oxford, 1907; rpt. Varanasi, 1972, pp. 206-20; H.M. Whittel, 'The Coins of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur', *JASB (NS)*, vol. XXXVI, 1922, p. 101; S.A. Shere, 'Kings of Jaunpur Dynasty and Their Coinage', *JBORS*, vol. XXVIII, part III, 1942, pp. 285-95; idem, 'Treasure Trove Coins Discovered in Bihar and Acquired by Patna Museum in 1942', *JNSI*, vol. V, 1943, p. 109; H.R. Nevill, 'A New Copper Coin of Jaunpur' *JASB*, vol. XI, nos. 10 & 11, (NS-XXVI), 1915, pp. 490-1; S.L. Goron, 'A Clearly Dated Silver Tanka of Ibrahim Shah', *ONS (NB)*, no. 141, 1994; A.F.R. Hoernle, 'Exhibition of Coins', *PASB*, Feb. 1881, p. 40; Syed Ejaz Hussain, 'Rare Coins of Jaunpur Sultans', *ND*, vols. 12-13, 1988-9, pp. 76-82.
6. Sutapa Sinha, 'Coins from Gaur', *Numismatics and Epigraphy, Pratna Samiksha*, New Series, vol. 3, 2012, pp. 185-90.
7. Syed Ejaz Hussain, 'Currency Pattern and Money Supply: A Study of Coinage and Mint of Jaunpur Sultanate', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 66th Session Santiniketan, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 363-78.

8. John S. Deyell, 'Precious Metals, Debasements and Cowrie Shells in the Medieval Indian Monetary Systems, c. 1200-1575', in John H. Munro, ed., *Money in the Pre-Industrial World: Bullion, Debasements and Coin Substitutes*, London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012, pp. 164-5.
9. Deyell, loc. cit., p. 167.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 170.
12. Ibid., p. 178.
13. H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Mughal Emperors of India*, vol. III, Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1972, rpt., pp. 7, 8, 24, 51.
14. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, pp. 192-3, 205.
15. *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, pp. 344-8 (see J26, p. 348 for reference of Husain Shah's Silver coin).
16. John F. Richards, 'The Economic History of the Lodi Period: 1451-1526', in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ed., *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 138.
17. *Tarikh-i Dau'di*, p. 105; H.M. Elliot, *The History of India: As Told by its Own Historians*, London, 1872, vol. 4, p. 476; John F. Richards, loc. cit.
18. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Babur Nama*, ed. & tr. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1922, p. 521.
19. Richards, loc. cit., pp. 148-9.
20. Ibid., pp. 150-5.

CHAPTER 6

Growth of Jaunpur as a Seat of Learning and Culture

Jaunpur was very well known as a seat of learning and culture. Several educational centres and *madrasas* were founded at several places in the kingdom of Jaunpur. Scholars and *sufis* from far and wide including Persia and Syria visited Jaunpur. Even after the decline of the Sharqi kingdom Jaunpur remained significant as a seat of learning and culture. Sher Shah, the founder of the Suri dynasty, was sent by his father Hasan Khan Sur for the purpose of education from Sasaram to Jaunpur. Islamic religious education, particularly the Quran, *hadith*, *tafsir*, *fiqh*, *usul-i fiqh*, *nahv*, *mantiq* and several other subjects, were taught in the centres of learning here. Bibi Raji, the first and favourite queen of Ibrahim Sharqi, established some *madrasas* here for the girls. The fame of the scholars of Jaunpur reached far and wide, even abroad. When Humayun migrated to Persia in exile, the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas enquired from him about the state of the scholars and *sufis* of Jaunpur. Humayun was very much impressed to learn about the fame of the Jaunpur scholars in Persia. When he regained power in India, he attempted to restore the glory of Jaunpur that was devastated by Sikandar Lodi. Humayun's successors continued this policy. Shah Jahan called Jaunpur as *Shiraz-i Hind*.

Shahab-ud Din Daulatabadi who held the post of Qazi was bestowed with the title of *Malik-ul 'Ulama* (King of Scholars) for his vast knowledge and master scholarship by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Ibrahim Shah built a special mosque and a *madrasa* for him for imparting Islamic education and learning.¹ Abul Fazl has also acknowledged the depth and vastness of his knowledge. Qazi Shahab-ud Din Daulatabadi's disciple Maulana Safi Jaunpuri was said to be the tutor of the sons of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.²

Makhdum Shaikh Arabi Jamshed who died at the time of Mahmud Shah Sharqi, was a *sufi* scholar of great prominence. His tomb is to be found at Rajgrihar in Farrukhabad. Husain Shah Sharqi had built an impressive tomb over his burial in 870/1465, as is known from a stone inscription found at his tomb.³

Another well-known *sufi* who flourished in Jaunpur was Makhdum Syed Ashraf Jahangir Semnani (AD 1285-1405). He had come to India at the age of 23 and reached Pandua in Bengal where he became the disciple of the Sufi saint 'Ala-ul Huque. He widely travelled in India and abroad. In India he visited Uchh, Delhi, Ajmer, Ajodhan, Jaunpur, Benares, Bihar, Bengal, Deccan, Gujarat and Sarandip. When he went abroad from India he visited Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Najaf, Karbala, Rum (Turkey), Mashhad, Egypt, Herat, Ma wara'un nahr (Transoxiana), Turkistan, Kabul, Qandhar, Multan and his hometown Samana. In Mashhad (Iran) he visited the tomb of Imam Musi Raza where he came across Amir Timur who had gone there for paying his homage to the tomb of the Imam. Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi and Husain Shah Sharqi gave great respect to him. Semnani died in AD 1405 at the age of 120 years. His tomb is located at Kachhaucha in Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh where every year a large gathering is held on the occasion of his 'urs. The details about his travel is known from his own work *Lataif-i Ashrafi*.⁴

Qazi Taj-ud Din Nasihi (d. 1427) and his disciple Shah Jalal-ul Huque Nasihi (AD 1402-1537) were very prominent Chishti *sufis* who lived at Zafrabad where their tombs are located (Figure 21) and where their 'urs is still held with great reverence. Both held the post of Qazi at Zafrabad and the Sharqi sultans bestowed great honour upon them.⁵

Some other prominent *sufi* saints of Jaunpur were Khwaja Abul Fath, Shaikh 'Isa Taj, Shaikh Shams-ul Huque Bari Haqqani, Shaikh Baha-ud Din, Shaikh Adhan, Shaikh Farid, Shaikh Husam-ud Din Manikpuri, Shaikh Raji Hamid Shah, Makhdum Asad-ud Din Aftab-i Hind, Makhdum Sadr-ud Din Chiragh-i Hind, Makhdum Qeyam-ud Din, Makhdum Rukn-ud Din, and Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri among many others. The Sharqi sultans always respected them and sought their blessings. Zafrabad, Jaunpur, Manikpur,



Figure 21: Tomb of Shah Jalal-ul Huque Nasihi, Zafrabad

Kachhaucha, Kalpi, Awadh, Fathpur, Rudauli, Bijnor, Bahraich and Makanpur were the chief *sufi* centres under the Sharqi Sultanate. Mian Muhammad Saeed has described about these in some details.⁶

Jaunpur Chapter of Bhakti Tradition and Hindi Love Lores

Jaunpur was not only a centre of Islamic learning and Sufism but it equally rose to prominence as a cradle of Bhakti movement. Kabir (1440-1518), the leading vocalist of Bhaktism, belonged to Benares which was a part of the Jaunpur kingdom. There is a *mohallah* in Jaunpur town that is known as Kabir Patti. Perhaps the followers of Kabir lived there. Kabir's period largely fell during the heyday of the Sharqi rule. Kabir is well known for preaching for individual salvation and a kind of egalitarian set-up where all had the equal right to breathe in fresh air by shunning orthodox practices and attitudes. Kabir said:

Brahman gadha jagat ka, tirath lada jaye
Yajman kahai main puni kiya, woh mihnath ka khay

The Brahmin is the world's ass, who is burdened with pilgrimage
 The client says 'I did acts of goodness', The Brahmin has his labour's wage.⁷

Kabir further said:

Unche kul kya janmiyan, je karni unch na hoi
Soban kalas sure bharya, sadhu nindya soi

If deed's aren't high, it matters not if one is born in high household
 A righteous man condemns wholly a liquor filled pot made of gold.⁸

The Jaunpur sultans are never said to have disturbed Kabir in his preaching. The orthodox society Kabir lived in, tolerably listened to Kabir's *dohas* which used the people's dialect of mixed Awadhi-Bhojpuri. Kabir also never attacked the rulers in any of his couplets.

It is notable that Jaunpur was known for certain *sufi* saints who had written narrative poems on love in Hindi. Banarsi Das knew these poems, which were indeed universally admired. For months during his lean days in Agra, Banarsi Das's chief occupation was to recite two of these poems to a group of his friends who found them so interesting as to gather around him every evening for the recital.

Vidyapati as we all know was a great Mithila poet. He did not belong to Jaunpur proper. Even so his famous work *Kirtilata*, as quoted above, was devoted to Ibrahim Sharqi whom the poet went to meet from Mithila and exhorted the Sharqi king to help with his arms and army to the Mithila king Kirti Singh, enabling him to suppress the local chief Arsalan and regain his lost kingdom. Ibrahim Sharqi's support to the Mithila king against the local Turkish chief displays the overall attitude of Sharqi rulers towards his non-Muslim subjects and their quest for justice and benevolence, as has been eulogized by Vidyapati. Though Vidyapati has spoken of the unkind behaviour of the Turkish soldiers who were always involved in getting war spoils which was their chief income, he has nowhere said anything against the policy of Ibrahim Sharqi towards his non-Muslim subjects. Instead he has praised him.

Mulla Daud, Shaikh Qutban, Malik Muhammad Jayasi, Mir Manjhan, and some other poets composed *premakhyān* (love-lores) in Awadhi and Bhojpuri mixed dialect. Through these long tales of love which were similar to the Persian *masnavi*, the great *darveshes* and *sufis* expressed their eternal devotion to the Divine Creator. One effect of these narratives in the popular imagination might have been to transform the *darvesh*/saint into a symbol of mundane human love.⁹ Mulla Daud composed *Chandayan* in AD 1379, Shaikh Qutban produced *Mrigavati* in 1503, Malik Muhammad Jayasi wrote *Padmavat* in 1540 and Mir Manjhan composed *Madhumalati* in 1545.

Chandayan is the earliest extant love-ballad in the *sufi* tradition. It narrates the story of a wandering mendicant who captivated the hearts of the people on the streets by singing a popular love-

ballad called *Chandravali* which was perhaps an earlier love poem in the Indian tradition of love narratives. Mulla Daud (d. 1395), a prominent Chishti *sufi* of Dalmau, now in Rae Bareilly was the disciple of Shaikh Zain-ud Din, the nephew, successor and chief attendant of Nasir-ud Din Chiragh Dehlavi (d. 1356), who, in turn, was the disciple of Hazrat Nizam-ud Din Aulia of Delhi (d. 1325). The story of *Chandayan* revolves around the love between Chanda and Lorik. What is interesting is that both Chanda and Lorik were married. Maina was Lorik's wife while Bavan was Chanda's lawfully wedded husband. Both Chanda and Lorik eloped to a place in the Kalinga region called Hardi Patan. Subsequently there was bitter exchange of words between Chanda and Maina, even physical fights. The story ends with the death of Chanda by snake-bite. In this entire love-lore Almighty God has been addressed as *Gosain*, *Srijanhār*, *Alakh Niranjan* and *Vidhata*. Chanda has been treated as *Parmatma* (supreme soul) while Lorik as *Atma* (soul) in metaphysical terminology and both Chanda and Lorik have been shown to have deep faith in the virtue of compassion and mercy of the Ultimate truth. When Chanda succumbs to snakebite and dies Lorik weeps bitterly and reaches the point when one has to practice *sabr* (patience) and *tawakkal* (trust), and finally he submits to the will of God. At this juncture Lorik says:

*Daya Gosain Srijanhāra,
tohi chhadi kas karwun pukara*

O our sustainer, have mercy, my Lord
Except you, who (else) should I call upon?

It may be noted here that *Srijanhāra* (Creator) is perhaps the appropriate equivalent of *Rabb-ul alemīn* (Lord of the universe) of Quranic phrase. Abdul Qadir Bada'uni in *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* has written that *Chandayan* composed by Maulana Daud had the power to enchant the *sufis* and the common folk alike. He says,

Dar sanh athni wa sab'in wa sab'amayah (772) *Khan Jahan wazir wafāt yāft wa pisarash Juna Shah nām beh haman khiṭāb mukhāṭib gasht wa kitāb Chandayan ra ke mathnavi ast beh zabān Hindvi dar beyān-i 'ishq Lorik wa Chanda nām 'āshiq wa mā'shūq wa-l haq kheili hālat bakhsh ast, Maulana Daud be-nāme oo nazm kardah wa az nihāyat shohrat dar in dayār ihteyāj beh tā'rif na-dārad. Wa Makhdum Shaikh Taqi-ud Din Wā'iz Rabbani dar Dehli ba'de abyāt taqribi oo*

*ra bar minbar mi khwānad wa mardum az istima' ān hālt-i ghariba rui mi dād. Chun ba'de afāḍil an 'abad Shaikh ra pursidand keh sabab-i ikhtiyār in mathnavi Hindvi chist jawāb dād keh tamām ān haqāiq wa ma'āni zauqi ast wa mawāfiq beh wajdān ahl-i shauq wa 'ishq wa muṭābiq beh tafsīr ba'de az āyāt-i Qu'rāni wa khush āwazān-i Hind hala ham beh sawād khwāni ān ṣaid dilha mi numayand.*¹⁰

و در سنه اثنی و سبعین و سبعمائه (۷۷۲) خان جهان وزیر وفات یافت و پسرش جونا شه نام به همان خطاب مخاطب گشت و کتاب چنداین را که مثنوی است به زبان هندوی در بیان عشق لورک و چاندا نام عاشق و معشوق والحق خیلی حالت بخش است، مولانا داود به نام او نظم کرده و از نهایت شهرت در این دیار احتیاج به تعریف ندارد. و مخدوم شیخ تقی الدین واعظ ربانی در دهلی بعضی ابیات تقریبی او را بر منبر می خواند و مردم را از استماع آن حالت غریبه روی می داد. چون بعضی افاضل آن عهد شیخ را پرسیدند که سبب اختیار این مثنوی هندوی چیست جواب داد که تمام آن حقایق و معانی ذوقی است و موافق به وجدان اهل شوق و عشق و مطابق به تفسیر بعضی از آیات قرآنی و خوش آوازان هند حالا هم به سواد خوانی آن صید دلها می نمایند.

In the year 772 [AD 1370] Khan Jahan, the prime minister [of Firuz Shah] died and his son Juna Shah succeeded to his title (office). And the book Chandayan which is a *masnavi* in the Hindvi language and describes the love of Lorik and Chanda, the lover and beloved, and which is indeed extremely inspiring, was composed in his name by Maulana Daud. It is so well known in these regions that it scarcely requires any introduction. And Makhdum Shaikh Taqi-ud Din, the Divine Sermonizer, read out some stanzas from it on one occasion from pulpit and the people on hearing it were seized with a peculiar sort of ecstasy. When some of the learned men of that age asked the Shaikh about the reason of using this *masnavi* of Hindvi language, he replied that the whole of it was full of divine truth, ecstatic contemplation of ardent lovers and devotees and was comparable to the interpretations of some passages of the Quran and the melodious singers of Hind still capture the hearts by reciting these sweet songs.

Chandayan became so popular that Abdul Quddus Gangohi (1453-1518), a well-known contemporary *sufi*, began to write a Persian version of the love-lore, but Sultan Bahlol's attack on Jaunpur and the subsequent turmoil created destroyed not only the plan but the pages also which he had transcribed.¹¹

It may be noted here that when *Chandayan* was composed (in AD 1379), the ruler of Delhi was Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88) in whose praise Mulla Daud says:

*Sabi Peroj dhili bado Raja
Chhat pat ao te pai chhaja*

King Firoz is the great ruler of Delhi
The (royal) parasol and the throne are befitting to him alone.¹²

The composition of *Chandayan* and its folk story has nothing to do with the Sharqi Sultanate which was set up after about fifteen years later. But it is notable that the composition of such a folk romance in a regional dialect by a renowned *sufi* must have encouraged harmonious elements and helped control the social tensions after the establishment of the Sultanate rule. It was in this atmosphere in which the Sharqi rule was set up. The Sharqi rulers encouraged and patronized this culture and as a result a number of other *sufi* folklores came into existence.

Another important *sufi* folk composition was *Mrigavati* written again in Awadhi dialect (in 1503) by the *sufi* saint Shaikh Qutban in Jaunpur. Qutban was a renowned *sufi* and he was the disciple of Shaikh Burhan-ud Din of Kalpi. He was a court-poet of Husain Shah Sharqi. *Gulzar-i Abrar* informs us that he later joined the *Shattari* order of sufism. *Mrigavati* opens with a panegyric to Husain Shah, the last Sharqi ruler who was then living in exile at Kahalgaon under the shelter of Bengal's Sultan Husain Shah. In praise of Husain Shah Shaikh Qutban says,

साह हुसैन आहि बड़ राजा । छात सिंहासन इनहि पै छाजा ।
पंडित औ बधिवंत सयानां । पोथा बांच अरथ सब जानां ।
धरम दुदिरिस्टल इन्ह कहं छाजा । हम पर छांह जीउ जग राजा ।
दान देइ बहु गनति न आवा । बलि औ करन न सरबरि पावा ।
राय जहां लहि गंधरप अहहीं । सेवा करहिं बार सब चहहीं ।
चतुर सुजान भखा सब जानां अइस न देखेउं कोइ ।
सभा सुनहु सब कान दै फुनि देखा तौ सोइ ॥

अगनित ठाट गनति नहि आवा । खुररम खेह गगन सब छावा ।
अंभ सुझर आगें करि पावा । पाछें परइ सो धूरि लगावा ।
मेघ डंबर छाता बहु तानें । सेवा करहिं राउ औ राणें ।
तुरिअ टाप असि खेह उड़ानी । आठ अमर भौ पुहमि छ जानी ।
गज गौनहि जग सांसौ होई । बासुकि इंद्र दुहू बुधि खोई ।
जीय दान जौ चाहइ सेवा करउ सो बार ।
जाकहं भौह होइ जग मैली सो रे होइ जरि छार ।

डांड इंद्र बासुकि सेउं लेई । अउर डांड लंकेसुर देई ।
 नरभिः को को कहे सयानां । देवतन्ह आइस इन्ह कर मानां ।
 जासों हंस कै बात अस कहहीं । दुख दारिद औ पाप न रहहीं ।
 पिरिथ में अइस भएउ नहि कोई । सर तौ देउं सुनेउं जो होई ।
 पाप न लिएउ जीउ महं काऊ । धरम करत किछुवौ किन जाऊ ।
 अधरम किएउ न जग महं काऊ धरम करहिं बहु भाति ।
 निसि बासर सब तैसेहि चेतहिं बिधि परसन तौ सांति ।।

पढ़हिं पुरान कठिन जो होई । अरथ कहहिं समझावहिं सोई ।
 एक एक बोल क दस दस भावा । पंडितन्ह अचके बकति न आवा ।
 अउर बहुत इन्ह केरि बडाई । हमरें कहे कहां कहि जाई ।
 मुंह मुंह जीभि सहंस जौ होई । तउ रे बडाई करइ जौ कोई ।
 जब जगि अस्थिर रहइ सुमेरु । हर भारजा बहइ जम नीरु ।
 सवन सुनहु चित लाइ कै कहौ बात हौ एक ।
 आऊ बढउ हुसैन साह कै आहि जगत कै टैक ।।

Sāh Husain āhi baḍa Raja; Chhāt sinhāsan inhi pai chāja
Pandit ao budhiwant sayānan; potha bānch arath sab jānan
dharam dudistil inhe kanh chāja; ham par chhanh jiau jug raja
dān dei bahu ganti na āwa; Bāli ao Karan na sarbari pāwa
rai jahan lahi gandhrap ahahin; seva karhin bār sab chahahin
chatur sujān bhakha sabjanan ais na dekheun koi
sabha sunhu sab kān dae phuni dekha tau soi

aganit thāt ganti nahi āwa; khurram kheh gagan sab chhāwa
anbh sujhar āgen kari pāwa; pāchhen parai so dhūri lagāwa
megh dambar chhata bahu tānen; seva karhin rao ao rānen
turia tāp asi kheh udāni; āth amar bhaw puhmi chha jāni
gaj gaunhi jag sānsao hoi; Bāsuki Indra duhun budhi khoi
jiyay dān jao chāhai seva karou sao bār
jākanh bhaonh hoi jag maili so re hoi jari chār

dānd Indra Basunki seon leyi; āur dānd Lankesur deyi
narbhīh ko ko kahe sayanan; devatanh āis inh kar mānan
jason hans kai bāt as kahahin; dukh dārid ao pāp na rahahin
pirith mein ayis bhayau nahi koi; sar to deun suneu jo hoi
pāp na lieuwu jiwu mahān kāwu; dharam karat kichhuwau kin jāwu
adharam kiyeuwu na jag manh kāwu dharma karhin babu bhānti
nisi bāsar sab taisehi chethin bidhi parsan tao sānti

padhbin puran kathin jo hoi; arath kah-hin samujhawahin soi
ek ek bol ka das das bhāwa; panditanh achke bakti na āwa

Qutban's praise of Husain Shah is no doubt full of hyperbolic overtones and exaggerations. But in spite of it, it is also a fact that

Husain Shah, being a great ruler and learned man, was also fond of art and music. Husain Shah's military prowess was matchless and Vidyapati, too has expressed similar praise for it, as we have found in the verses of Qutban.

The plot of *Mrigavati* resembles any other Indian fairy tale. A prince falls in love with an *apsara*, a celestial maiden, who comes down from her heavenly abode on certain days to bathe in a lonely pond. The prince makes her captive through a ruse. The *apsara*, however, also plays a trick and manages to escape. Heartbroken, the prince wanders everywhere in search of her and finally wins over her after a long and arduous journey. During his frantic search for her, which was allegorically divine, he comes across other fairies as well. *Mrigavati* closes with a happy ending and instructions for remaining continuously engaged in the remembrance of God.

Aditya Bahl who has done commendable research on the sufi love-lores of eastern India has attempted to establish a link of these romantic stories with the early Islamic popular tales like *One Thousand and One Nights* (*Kitāb Alf Lailah va Lailah*), *Voyages of Sindbād* (*Al-Sindbād al-Baḥrī*), *The Conference of the Birds* (*Mantiq-uṭ Ṭayr*) and *The Book of the Wonders of India* (*Kitāb 'Ajāib al-Hind*), has made a remarkable comment on Qutaban's *Mrigavati*. He says, 'Qutban also reinscribed the Arabic genre of the marvels of India in the adventures of the *desī* hero of the *Mirgāvati*, along with exchanges of gems, cloth, spices and other merchandise through the sea lanes of the Indian ocean, there was an ongoing and global exchange of narrative motifs between India and the Islamic traditions of storytelling. Multiple uses of the same set of motifs demonstrate the links of fiction with the global historical processes of trade and cultural encounter.'¹⁵

Malik Muhammad Jayasi (1477-1542) composed the *Padmavat* in 1540. He was a Chishti *sufi* and lived in Jais (Rae Bareli) and was the disciple of Shaikh Muhi-ud Din, who in turn, was the disciple of Shaikh Burhan-ud Din of Kalpi. The story of *Padmavat* has a political tinge as it is based on the siege and capture of Chittor by Ala-ud Din Khalji in AD 1290. Ratansen, the ruler of Chittor, falls in love with Padmavati, the princess of Simhala, after learning about her beauty from the parrot he had purchased. In order to find Padmavati he leaves his kingdom, turns into a *yogi*, and, after great pain and trouble

ultimately meets Padmavati and marries her and finally reached Chittor with his beloved. On the other hand, Nagamati, Ratansen's first wife, suffers from pangs of separation (*viraha*) in the absence of her husband. When Ala-ud Din Khalji comes to know of Padmavati's beauty from a disgruntled courtier of Ratansen, he plans to attack Chittor. Meanwhile Ratansen is killed in another battle. When Ala-ud Din invades Chittor and the fort of Chittor falls to his hands, both Nagamati and Padmavati became *satis* on their husband's funeral pyre. Ala-ud Din won Chittor but not Padmavati. *Padmavat* thus ends in tragedy. Yash Gulati who wrote *Sufi Kavita ki Pahchan*, has explained the sufi message ingrained in the story of *Padmavat* and remarked, 'Chittor stands for the body, the king symbolizes the mind, Sinhala signifies the heart, and the parrot represents the teacher who shows the king the path to Padmini, the ultimate intelligence'.¹⁶ In fact, the story of the two human lovers is represented in *sufi*-lore in an allegoric fashion in order to depict the love of the soul for the Ultimate Truth and its final union with Him losing his own identity called *fana* (death) in sufi terminology.

Padmavat, contrary to the imaginary plots of *Chandayan* and *Mrigavat*, is primarily based on historical facts of the siege of Chittor in AD 1290 by Ala-ud Din Khalji. Some suitable modifications to fit the purpose of narrative do not spoil the historicity of the main plot of the tale. Ratansen, the then king of Mewar, has been mentioned as the hero, instead of Bhimsen who was on the throne when the episode took place while the journey to Ceylon to win Padmavati is also simply the imagination of the poet. Nagamati who was Ratansen's first wife, suffers the pain of separation (*viraha*) as happened in the case of Maina who was Lorik's first wife. Malik Muhammad Jayasi has also praised Sher Shah who was then the Sultan of Delhi.

Madhumalati, another contemporary love poem was composed by Shaikh Manjhan who was a *sufi* of the *Shattari* order. The story of *Madhumalati* is also a dressed-up fantasy like that of *Mrigavati*. The allegorical elements are, however, more explicit and clear in it than in *Mrigavati*. For instance, here we find the names of the cities, like Maharasanagara or 'the City of Ecstasy' where the beloved resided. The prince in search of his beloved passes through another city which is called Cittabisraunnagara or 'the City of Forgetfulness'.¹⁷ The story

of *Madhumalati* develops along the lines similar to *Mrigavati*. Prince Manohar is carried in his sleep by the nymphs to the bed chamber of *Madhumalati*. Upon waking, both fall in love with each other. But nymphs became regretful for what they had done in fantasy. So they took back the prince to his palace. The prince now suffers from pangs of separation (*viyoga*) and leaves the palace and became a *yogi* in quest of his beloved. After a great deal of pain and suffering he finds *Madhumalati* and marries her, and both return to the palace.¹⁸ In this way begins the allegory of the soul's quest for the divine truth/beauty.¹⁹ Manjhan has praised king Salim or Jahangir in his *Madhumalati* which was composed during his reign. S.C.R. Weightman in his scientific article on *Madhumalati* has said,

In writing *Madhumalati*, Manjhan has produced a delightful, beautifully balanced story, rich in mystical symbolism and rendered more effective through the unique symmetry of its narration. It ... merits a high place in Indo-Muslim literature.. As a powerful and authentic invocation to love, however, it can claim a universality that transcends such cultural categorization.²⁰

It is noteworthy that both *Padmavat* and *Madhumalati* were composed after the end of the Sharqi rule but the transformation of political power did not affect the production of such secular theme of folk-love versified narratives. Besides, both Hindu and Muslim literary class nurtured the desire of possession of such manuscripts, some of which were well illustrated. On the other hand, the common people used to sing and narrate such folk-love verses in public as they became a source of entertainment for them. This was because the *sufis* were well-versed in the Indian religious ideas, customs, traditions and Indian metaphysics which they narrated in popular romantic tales combining them with chief *sufi* doctrines in a language that was spoken by the common folk in Awadh-Jaunpur regions and some parts of Bihar. 'All four poets [Maulana Daud, Qutban, Jayasi and Manjhan] use the same metre and form and all draw on the conventions of the Persian *masnavi* to frame their romances with introductory prologues. In these prologues there is first praise of God, then of Muhammad and the first four righteous caliphs, then praise for the king of the time and the author's immediate patron, then praise and thanks to the author's spiritual guide followed by a disclaimer of the poet's own poetic skills. The stories are set in

the ambience of the court, with kings and queens, princes, hand-maidens, friends and companions. There are marvellous palaces and lush gardens containing mango orchards, canals of cool running water, and picture-pavillions. Demons, heavenly nymphs, wonderful birds and magical events all add to the imaginative allure of these works. Early in each poem an image of divine beauty is introduced: the heroine's body is described in formal literary set-piece called a *nakh-sikh-varṇana* (toe-to-head description) in Sanskrit which parallels the *sarāpa* (head-to-foot description) in Persian and uses the same symbolism and imagery.²¹

Composition of this genre of sufi literature did not end with the fall of the Jaunpur Sultanate; instead it was carried over throughout the Mughal period. Several master pieces such as *Gyandeep* (c. 1617) composed by Shaikh Nabi of Sultanpur, *Chitravali* (c. 1620) composed by Shaikh Usman of Ghazipur, *Puhupavati* (c. 1669) composed by Sant Dukhharan Das of Ghazipur and *Indravati* (c. 1744) composed by Nur Muhammad of Azamgarh, are the prominent sufi *premakhyān* literature produced in later times. All these *sufi* love-epics were created in the region which once comprised the Jaunpur Sultanate.

Shaikh Nabi of Sultanpur (earlier in the district of Jaunpur) blended the elements of *yoga* along with romance in his work *Gyandeep* which was composed at the time of the Mughal emperor Jahangir. The story of *Gyandeep* revolves around the Prince Gyandeep who becomes a Saiva *yogi*. Later he falls into a liaison with Princess Devyani through her magic skills. For this he is punished by the king and is thrown into a river in a barrel. Water-currents of the river drive him to a neighbouring kingdom where he is adopted by its ruler. Prince Gyandeep again reunites with the Princess Devyani who selects him as her husband in an open *svayamvar* (the ancient Indian practice of public selection of a husband by a princess of rank from among a number of assembled suitors). The chief merit of this love-lore is that here we find the elements of *yoga* which is also a part of *sufi* mysticism.

Chitravali (c. 1620) and *Puhupavati* (c. 1669) were composed during the time of the Mughal emperors Jahangir and Aurangzeb respectively. Both Shaikh Usman and Dukhharan Das the poets of

these works were native of Ghazipur in Uttar Pardesh. The method and style in both the works have been followed of the earlier *premakhyan* (love-lores) like *Chandayan*, *Mrigavati*, *Padmavat* and *Madhumalati*. *Chitravali* tells the triangular romance involving Sujan Kumar, a prince of Nepal with Kevalavati, the princess of Sagargarh and Chitravali, the princes of Rupnagar. The story begins with eulogy of Ishwar, Prophet Muhammad and first four Islamic caliphs followed by the praise of the ruling Mughal emperor Jahangir as well as *sufis* Shah Nizam Chishti and Guru Baba Haji who were Usman's sufi *peers* (instructors).

So far as *Puhupavati* is concerned, it has also followed the pattern of earlier *sufi premakhyan*. Like *Mrigavati*, *Puhupavati* is also found in *Kaithi* script as well as Persian script. Besides, in the entire range of *sufi premakhyan* it is the longest love-epic known so far. But *Puhupavati* is more interesting in the sense that it is the single *premakhyan* that was composed not by a Muslim *sufi* but by a Hindu saint who has adopted the same style and method as that of earlier sufi romantic narratives. In some initial stanzas Sant Dukhharan Das has eulogized gods Ram, Mahadeva, Ganesh as well as goddess Devi Bhavani. He has also praised his *guru* (instructor) and the ruling sovereign Emperor Aurangzeb.

The love-story revolves around the princess Puhupavati, the daughter of Anupgarh's king with the prince of Rajnagar in Jambudvip, a large mythical island near mountain Meru. Both are captivated by each other in the first glimpse but they are unable to meet each other. Meanwhile, several episodes develop and the prince gets married one after the other with two other young women, Rupwanti and Rangili. But the prince becomes passionate for Puhupavati and craves for union with her. After all kinds of sufferings, torments and forbearance, he is ultimately united and gets married with Puhupavati. In the entire epic the lady-gardener or *dūti* (female emissary) acts as medium for union between the two lovers.

The last epic-poem of this genre, *Indravati*, composed by Nur Muhammad 'Kamyab' of Azamgarh in 1744, tells the similar love allegory. The prince of the kingdom of Kalinjar begins to burn in the flame of love after a dream. He moves to forests in search of his love and with the help of a merchant and a priest he arrives at

a Siva temple where a heavenly voice asks him to reach Prempur or the city of love and the garden of Indravati. He is finally united with Indravati and marries her. There are several episodes and sub-episodes in the narratives along with some seasonal songs.²²

In all these love-epics whether composed by *sufis* or *sants* the story is entirely invented and imaginary. All of them except *Gyandeep* are titled against the name of the heroine of the story. Both *sufis* and *sants* through their love-epics have strived to come near the formless God or the Absolute truth (*nirakār*, *alakh* or *rabb*) through the form of female-love that is represented in allegorical way to formless creator. In other words, through the medium of *ishq-i majāzi* (earthly love) they struggled to get closer and unite with *ishq-i haqiqi* (the true love). The path of this journey (called *tariqat* in sufi terminology) is always difficult, full of struggle, patience and restraint but at the same time the seeker of the love has to be in constant restless condition for achieving his objective of uniting with the true love. In *sufi* vocabulary they are known as *mohabbat* (pure and unconditional love) *sabr* (patience), *tawakkal* (trust), *wisāl* (union), *muqām* (spiritual station), *waseela* (means, *murshid/gurul*/guide).

Was there a Jaunpur School of Painting?

Kalpasutra

The earliest known illustrated manuscript from Jaunpur is *Kalpasutra* which was accomplished in 1465 (vs 1522) by Kayastha Venidasa, son of Pandita Karmasimha Gauda. It was commissioned by Sravika Harsini, the daughter of the merchant Sahasaraaja and the wife of Sanghavi Kalidasa. Containing 86 folios the text is written in gold ink on a red background with many beautiful ornamental illustrations based on Jain theme but in style and form it has Timurid-Persian influence too.²³ Highly effective use of gold and an intense blue sourced from lapis lazuli have been the chief characteristic of the ornamental Jaunpur manuscript. Husain Shah was the ruler of Jaunpur when the painting was completed. Patrick Krüger of Berlin who has concentrated on the three existing *Kalpasutra* manuscripts

for his doctoral dissertation has recently expressed his opinion about the growth of Jaunpur school of painting. He says,

In the second half of the 15th century, when the Jaunpur manuscript was produced, the tradition of the Western Indian School with its stylized and defined forms of expression had already been established in Gujarat and Rajasthan. At the same time the Jaunpur Sultanate, reigned by Husein Sharqi, was characterized by advances in the art of painting. Therefore it is no wonder that new ornamental elements were added to the classical illustrations from which a characteristic Jaunpur School likely evolved.²⁴

Since Jaunpur flourished as a city during the Jaunpur Sultanate and a number of Jain families and merchants used to live there so the completion of a Jain painting in Jaunpur is not unthinkable. Husain Shah who had great interests in culture, including music, perhaps encouraged and patronaged painting also. Elegant border decoration, floral designs based on arabesques, depiction of a variety of animal figures in different episodes, various forms of geometric designs and some other scenes have given a secular touch to the religious episodes; though the principal theme of the *Kalpasutra* has concentrated on the life of Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Jain *tirthankara* whose life has been depicted in great details. The episodes like the birth of Mahavira, the fourteen dreams (Figure 22) which appeared to Devananda, the mother of Mahavira before his birth,



Figure 22: A Leaf of Jaunpur *Kalpasutra*
Scene: Devananda's fourteen auspicious dreams foretelling
the birth of Mahavira (Preserved in Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York Acc. No 1992.359)

various episodes of his childhood, youth, his *abhishek* (crowning) and many other anecdotes related to his life and incarnation as well as decorative motifs on the dresses, bed sheets, curtains, jewellery, etc., present a fine example of narrative art in the history Indian miniature paintings.²⁵

Almost a quarter century earlier was composed the Mandu *Kalpasutra* in AD 1439 during the reign of the Malwa ruler, Ala-ud Din Mahmud Shah Khalji (1436-69). Written in gold letters for one Kshemahamsa Gani at Mandu it contains seventy-three folios of which four are missing and the rest are preserved at the National Museum, New Delhi. Womenfolk in both Mandu *Kalpasutra* and Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* wear the *odhni* as a broad band across the breasts and both men and women, have yellow, sandal and golden brown complexion. But Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* is well distinguishable from Mandu *Kalpasutra*. Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* is very opulent and gold has been profusely and lavishly used in it. Besides, the figures of musicians wearing particular type of turbans is another noticeable aspect of Jaunpur manuscript of *Kalpasutra*. This particular type of turbans were in use in Jaunpur area and this appears in later illustrated manuscripts of the region also. Further, there appears a kind of spontaneity in movement so far as the representation of dancing figures are concerned. Regarding the opulent feature of Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* Karl J. Khandalavala & Moti Chandra has said,

The reason why Jaunpur should be a centre of such an opulent style can be gleaned from the contemporary historical perspective. Jaunpur was the capital of cultured Sultans who loved literature and architecture. It was also the city of a flourishing Jain community. Some must have been of Gujarati and Rajasthani origin such as the Srimali caste to which Harshini, the donor of the manuscript, belonged. Undoubtedly there existed an intimate relationship between the Jaunpur and Western Indian or Gujarati style all over the country, particularly at centres where there were Jain congregations. At the same time, however, it will not be proper to doubt the specific points in the Jaunpur style which give its individuality. It shares with the Western Indian or Gujarati style of the Fifteenth century an inordinate fondness for gold as a flesh colour which though showing the richness of the patron who commissioned the manuscript. Jaunpur was one of the most important cities in Northern India in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. It was eminently suitable for the development of trade, commerce and banking in which Jain merchants specialized.²⁶

Chandayan

The illustrated pages of *Chandayan* (also called *Laur-Chanda*) and *Mrigavati*, the two prominent *sufi* love-lores in Avadhi, preserved in some public repositories in India and abroad further attest to the fact that Jaunpur developed its own school of painting which has not yet been given adequate attention by art-historians. So far as *Chandayan* is concerned several fragments of the illustrations are known till now. They are:

- i. 68 folios in Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalay, Mumbai, India

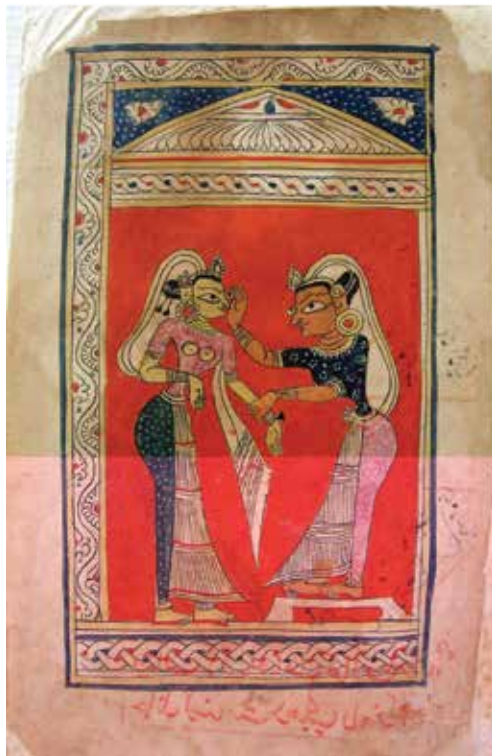


Figure 23: *Laur-Chanda* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Chanda and Maina perhaps fighting with each other

- ii. 6 leaves in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, India
- iii. 14 folios in Lahore Museum, Pakistan
- iv. 10 folios in Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, India
- v. 140 folios in The John Rylands Library, Manchester, UK
- vi. 141 folios in Staatsbibliothek, Berlin Manuscript, Germany
- vii. a couple of stray folios in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Smithsonian Institute, Washington, USA.

All available folios and manuscripts of *Chandayan* or *Laur-Chanda* by Mulla Daud are incomplete and colophon is not found on any of them. A detail study of *Laur-Chanda* paintings was done by Ananda Krishna in 1981.²⁷ Ananda Krishna believed that the illustrations of the *Laur-Chanda* particularly the illuminated manuscript preserved in Berlin were probably executed in Malwa about AD 1500.²⁸ In most of the manuscripts especially those of Berlin, Manchester and Mumbai one side of the leaf has Persian text while the other side has full-page illustration. No such example of manuscript illumination is known in India before fifteenth century. This pattern of illustration was later adopted in case of *Hamza Nama* and some other Mughal paintings at the time of Akbar. Style, colour-combination, landscape, execution of human figures and various narrative scenes attest to the fact that several artists, rather teams of artists, worked on these illustrations. Besides, the artists of various folios of different illustrations were well aware of not only of the local custom and traditions but also of the Persian and specifically Shirazi school of paintings. For instance, red is the choice colour which dominated in almost all the illustrations of *Laur-Chanda*. Black has rarely been used while blue has been used for depicting night. But as Basil Gray claims that 'the Lahore *Laur-Chanda* pages are free from any direct Persian influence...'.²⁹

Typical turbans for men and headgear (*odhni*) for women and colour combination in the illustrations of *Laur-Chanda* indicate that the artists were well acquainted with the local habits and practices particularly in context of costume and dress, and they came from the same region.³⁰ But it is also a fact that various illustrations

preserved in different museums and libraries differ in method of presentation, style and sophistication. This makes one believe that all the illustrations perhaps did not origin in Jaunpur. However, one may not deny that almost all the illustrations have the influence of Jain style and at the same time they maintain some Persian tune also; though their fundamental scheme and style of execution maintain some synchronic traits too. Large size of the eyes, pointed nose, squarish face and *chudidār payjāma* (trousers) with tapering towards ankles of both male and female figures and extremely thin waist of womenfolk (Figures 23, 25 & 26) are some of the features which are found in other illustrated manuscripts belonging to the areas falling between Agra and Jaunpur. Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala expressed similar views while explaining the features of the paintings of *Aranyaka Parvan* dated 1504 from Chandpuri near Agra as is known from the colophon of the manuscript which is devoted to Sikandar Lodi.³¹ Turbans, dress (*dhōti*, half *dhōti* or loincloth) and ornaments like earrings as well as style, posture and total representation of figures exhibit the social rank and status of the persons shown in the illustration (Figure 24). A distinguishing peculiarity of Lahore Musuem's *Laur-Chanda* is that nearly all the miniatures are divided into three panels and Mulla Daud, the poet of the work, appears seated in the upper right corner reciting a book, may be the holy Quran, on a book stand.³² Mulla Daud's posture of reading a book appears in the Chandigarh folios too. B.N. Goswami, the eminent art historian who has studied the Chandigarh folios of *Laur-Chanda* speaks,

For each leaf has an astonishing surge of energy, constitutes an audacious statement to the effect that what truly matters is not what the eye sees, but essentially what the 'truth' of things is, for that is what touches the heart. Nothing in these folios is close to ordinary life, and everything is highly stylized the colouring, the stances and gestures, the rendering of figures, the division of spaces; boldly the painter keeps moving, with that 'noble artificiality' of which one often speaks.... But nowhere does the painter lose touch with reality. Despite the stylization, there is, in fact, an earthiness in his work that never truly leaves him.³³

Giving details of some panels of the Chandigarh folios Goswami remarks,

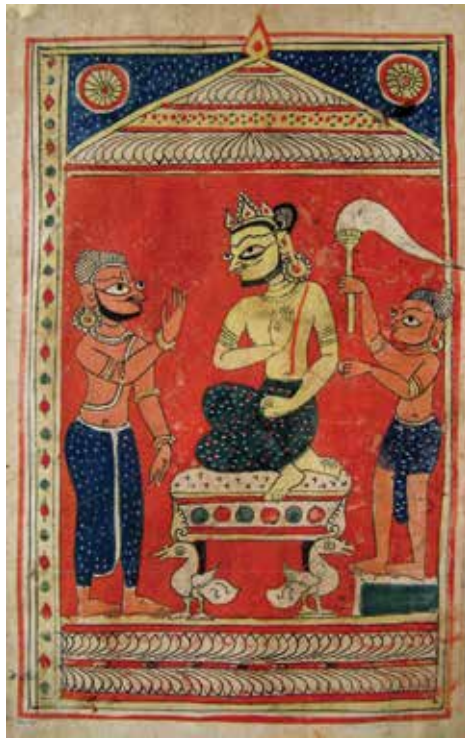


Figure 24: *Laur-Chanda* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Turbans, dress and earrings exhibiting social rank and status

Here, in the top half of the page, a well-seen directly from above-occupies the centre of the space; a water pond with ducks and lotuses appears below it, although seen at eye-level; men sit reading in their chambers or converse with holy men; women holding rosaries occupy domestic paces; flights of steps lead downwards. In the lower half of the page, however, everything, bar the chamber in which the Mulla sits addressing a young man, moves out into the open. Sadhus of different hues and persuasions practice austerities or blow upon ritual horns, a mendicant dressed in a patchwork garment strides across the space, hunters or traders move along, a dog on a chain raises his head skywards as if to take all the sights in. Saturated reds and blues that define different spaces nudge the viewer's eye, urging it to move; the range of sights imprints itself upon the mind; the poetry of ordinary things takes over.³⁴

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi has preserved six illustrated leaves of *Laur-Chanda*. Each of the illustration has red background as basic

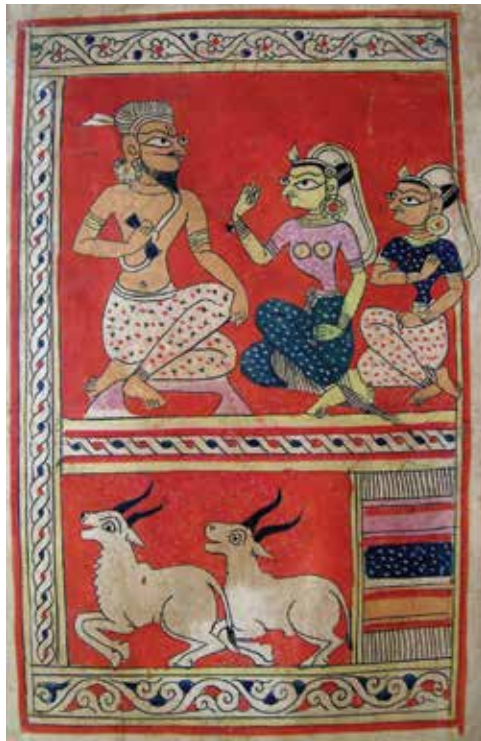


Figure 25: *Laur-Chanda* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Elopement Scene with hare in the Foreground

colour (Figures 23-5). The surface is generally divided into two or three panels, each panel being an integral part of the main theme. The compositional division into panels is an Indian conceptual device. Colour, decorative style of borders, delicacy of treatment in body contours of figures, small breasts and waists of womenfolk, plain and patterned *dhotis* and shirts with a *tiara* or turban for men while *saris*, *cholis* and *chādar* or ballooned *odhni* for women costume exemplify the excellent fusion of Indian and Persian techniques. They also point to an established court atelier in the first half of the sixteenth century, most likely at Jaunpur.

Ananda Krishna has presented a very detail and minute study of Berlin *Laur-Chanda*. Provenance and date of the manuscript, stylistic analysis, page format and spatial organization, settings

and landscape elements, treatment of sky and clouds, distinctive characteristics of human figures, treatment of roofs and architecture, different forms of deities, frequent use of four-dotted motifs, palette and use of colours, as well as distinctive features of painters' hands have been elaborately discussed and analysed by him. Faces in Berlin *Laur-Chanda* are round with big and round chin and both eyes are placed on one side of the face. *Odhni* (scarf) of women is ballooned and usually appears in 'S' shape in the paintings of both Berlin and Bharat Kala Bhavan. However, form and motif of fish depicted in Berlin *Laur-Chanda* could well be compared with those illustrated in *Mrigavati* of Bharat Kala Bhavan collection.³⁵ There are many similarities and common elements between Berlin *Laur-Chanda* and Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chanda* as well as between Berlin and Lahore-Chandigarh *Laur-Chanda*. Ananda Krishna considers these works in 'closest stylistic cognate'. But Berlin paintings, he believes, were executed at a later date around AD 1500 than the Bharat Kala Bhavan set. And he is not convinced to take Berlin *Laur-Chanda* or even Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chanda* as a work of Jaunpur school of painting; they were rather from central India, i.e. Malwa School of Painting from Mandu. In his conclusion Ananda Krishna has said,

I realise that some scholars would probably place the Berlin *Laur-Chanda* in Eastern India, but I think that a comparison of it with the Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* of 1465—the most relevant dated manuscript from that region—would suggest otherwise. In my opinion, the Berlin *Laur-Chanda* and the Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* represent two divergent trends. The female figures in the Jaunpur manuscript (which is completely different in style from regular Gujarati illustrations), have sharper noses and different, red-edged, eyes than those of the Berlin *Laur-Chanda*. Their well-modelled faces are fuller and heads are flat at the top. One also sees in the Jaunpur manuscript that the dress is heavily decorated with broad strips. Usually the ends of the scarf (*ānchala*) fly sideways taking an angular form, as was prevalent in North Indian styles. Textile designs also differ. Jewelry is changed. The tree types—whatever are known to us—are similarly different from those in Berlin *Laur-Chanda*. Moreover, the Jaunpur artist only rarely uses clouds in the sky, which are so profuse in the Mandu style manuscripts. Finally the colour tonalities are different between the two manuscripts. In the light of these innumerable differences between the two manuscripts, it would not seem proper to me to attribute the Berlin manuscript to Eastern India. Moreover, it is distinct in style from regular Gujarati illustrations or the examples attributed to Delhi or Gwalior. By simple process of elimination, then, and in addition

to the positive evidence presented above, the Berlin *Laur-Chanda* was probably painted in Malwa.³⁶

Certain characteristics of the Berlin *Laur-Chanda* are found in the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Mrigavati* illustrations. Similar bed chamber scenes, bed chamber overlooking a pond, the treatment of fish and certain other features like use of *Kulāhdār* turban and *Chākdār jāma* tend us to believe that *Laur-Chanda* was most likely of eastern Indian origin and not a central Indian origin. In this connection, Ananda Krishna remarks, 'Thus it seems to be more than a coincidence that so many common features are found among the *Laur-Chanda* illustrated manuscripts and *Mrigavati* (both being *sufi* narrative poems) illustrations. In a traditional society, like that of medieval



Figure 26: *Laur-Chanda* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Biraspat describing the beauty of Laur to Chanda

India such affinities should have definite significance, they seem not to be the result of mere chance.³⁷ An analysis of *Mrigavati* (below) may further clarify this point.

Mrigavati

A third set of painting of this genre is based on 250 folios of *Mrigavati* preserved in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Each folio has the classical *prem-katha* or epic-romance in Kaithi (Figure 27), a script which was popular in folk literature of eastern Uttar Pardesh. Like other miniatures of this group as discussed above, this set of painting also appears to be a bourgeois production executed for some personage of the area. Since Shaikh

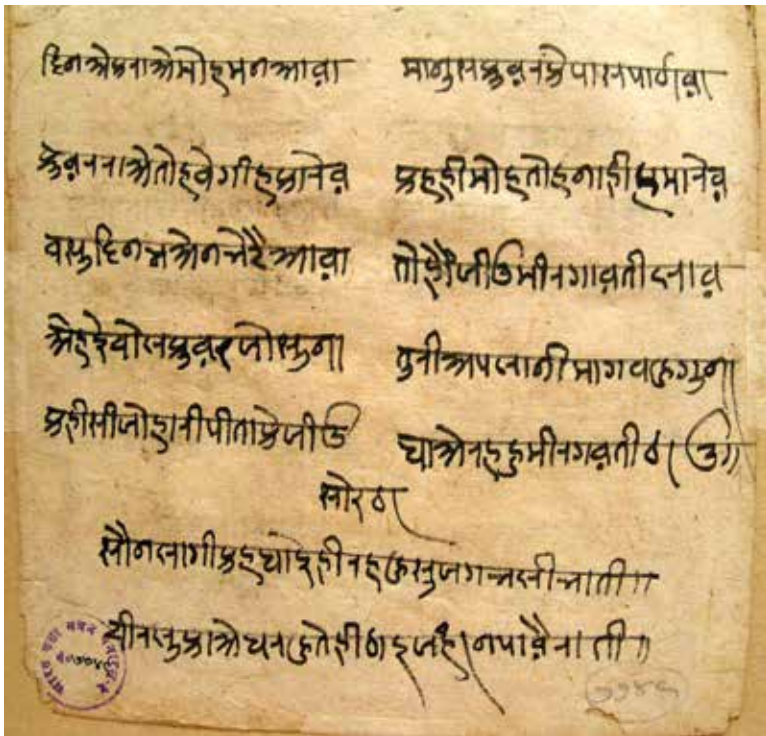


Figure 27: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Classical Epic-romance in Kaithi script



Figure 28: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Use of *kulāhdār* cap by all ranks of people

Qutban composed his poem of *Mrigavati* in 1503 these paintings were undoubtedly executed in a later time. On the basis of some particular characteristics especially *Chākdār jāma*, Karl Khandalavala, the eminent art historian who studied *Mrigavati* in great detail, has come to the conclusion that this group of paintings which includes *Mrigavati* along with *Laur-Chanda* and *Chaurapanchasika* were composed sometime between AD 1525 and 1570.³⁸

Chākdār jāma was a knee length full sleeved tunic with four or six distinct points or slit at sides made of translucent fabric like fine muslin. Sometimes this style of *jāma* is above knee, i.e. a bit shorter in length. It was tied with at the left front with tassels and a single or double *patka* (waistband) made of heavily brocaded fabric around

the waist. In pre-Akbari era *Chākdār jāma* is completely absent in the folios of *Sikandar Nama*, *Hamza Nama*, *Khamseh* of Amir Khusru and *Shah Nama* of Bharat Kala Bhavan. However, on the basis of the appearance of *Chākdār jāma* in *Mrigavati*, *Laur-Chanda* and *Chaurapanchasika*, all pre-Akbari miniatures, it may well be argued that *Chākdār jāma* was most likely a Lodi period costume but whether they were in use in Delhi-Agra area is doubtful. Since such type of costume is not seen in Malwa paintings of *Kalpasutra* and *Ni'matnama*, its origin and use was most likely in 'provincial governors in the eastern city of Jaunpur' wherefrom it perhaps travelled to Delhi where it was adopted at the time of Akbar. It is also notable that *Chākdār jāma* style is not seen in any miniature portraying Babur and Humayun during the time of Akbar.³⁹

Kulāhdār or a long compact cap in the centre with turban tied around it is another prominent feature of the paintings of *Mrigavati*. *Kulāhdār* cap is extensively used in *Mrigavati*. People of all ranks even menial workers like palanquin carriers also have worn the *kulāhdār* style of cap (Figures 27 & 28). *Kulāhdār* cap appears in *Laur-Chanda*, *Chaurapanchasika* and a couple of other contemporary paintings also. But it is not seen in Malwa paintings of *Kalpasutra* and *Ni'matnama*. On this ground it is argued that this type of cap originated in and remained in use in Delhi-Agra-Jaunpur areas only. And its profusely use in *Mrigavati* suggests that it was predominant in and around Jaunpur society.⁴⁰

All miniature paintings of pre-Akbari period stand as lively social documents. From this point of view *Mrigavati* occupies a special place as it presents diverse facets of contemporary life in and around the surroundings of Jaunpur. Various scenes of *Mrigavati* reflect as a mirror of the the social milieu. Social realism is well echoed when a viewer gazes or has even a cursory observation of the panels and panoramic scenes of masterpiece paintings of *Mrigavati*. Such a depiction of society is possible only when an artist's mind is free and he enjoys liberty of expression which more likely is found practiced by a folk artist than a sophisticated court atelier.

Some illustrations of *Mrigavati* tells that it is not only a folk romance but it is a product of the artistic and literary taste of the society of the middle Gangetic belt of India and particularly the



Figure 29: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Use of *kulāhdār* cap by all ranks of people

Jaunpur region under the Sharqi rule. Bed with mattress covered with decorative bed-sheet and pillow, articles and utensils for ready use kept below the bed, the majestic dress theme of the hero and heroine and frontal pond with flowers, ducks and fishes creating an appropriate romantic scene with multi-colour combination all are well-grained into the social realism and spirit of the contemporary life (Figure 30). Some miniatures suggest that the high Hindu ladies also used to ride the horses and the well-decorated palanquin carrying them was borne by four *palki*-bearers while their maids went along having been carried by two porters only in simple *dola* made of some long cloth. This gives a clear picture of the aristocratic society



Figure 30: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Appropriate Romantic Scene

(Figure 31). Common folk generally had belief in demons which are illustrated having dark and heavy body with forbidding rows of teeth in some folios (Figure 32). Costume of female folks of different hues and ranks consisted of *choli* (bodice), *ghagra* (skirt, some time three-tier skirts), with *patka* (sash or waistband) and ballooning *odhni* (scarf/stole) made of fine fabrics of cotton or silk or mixed of both cotton or silk printed in different colours and designs (Figure 33). Common male folk costumes included *dhoti*, and the menial workers and labourers used to wear short *dhoti* draped around the lower torso (Figures 23, 29 & 31). *Chākdār jāma* and *kulāhdār* cap with a *patka* (waistband) having flowing ends were used by the persons of aristocratic class. *Kulāh* (cap) was latticed or plain, short or tall. Bed with mattress, coverlet and bolster, carpets, *durris*, carved



Figure 31: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
A glimpse of Aristocratic Ladies with Attendants

wooden tables, and even wooden tools were used for furnishing of rooms. Houses had gardens and ponds. Peacocks and other birds were maintained in the gardens. Ponds were sometimes big enough for bathing and water-sporting by the women. Quill-pen and holder, carved wooden desk or small stand and ink-pot were used as writing materials. Playing *pachisi* and watching the performance of dancing girls were popular amusements. Water drawing from well, small boats for crossing the river with single oars, pair of scales for weighing foodstuffs in the market, keeping stocks in posts in rows, drinking water directly into mouth from a spouted ewer, dishes containing prepared foods, artisans climbing ladders for repairing building, man enjoying sigree for boiling water are some of the scenes illustrated in *Mrigavati* which tell the market, business, and many more details of social life.⁴¹



Figure 32: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)

Demon with Dark and Heavy Body and forbidding rows of Teeth

Figure 34 illustrates a *Gorakpanthi jogi* in short *pairahan* with his hair in long matted locks bearing a stringed instrument, a curved horn, an earthen pot and a *chakra* in hands while a string of beads worn around the neck explains the life and style of a *tantric* in the conservative society (Figure 34).

In this way, production of *Kalpavrutta* at Jaunpur makes us believe that there developed a Jaunpur school of painting as early as AD 1465. This was the heyday of the provincial sultanate and Husain Shah was the ruler. But one cannot imagine that after the fall of the Jaunpur Sultanate the Jaunpur school of painting also vanished. In fact, even after the end of the provincial sultanate Jaunpur continued to be a centre of trade and commerce for over a century until the rise of Allahabad under Akbar. So, the art and culture which flourished under the Jaunpur Sultanate continued in later years too. Since *Mrigavati* was composed in AD 1503 when Jaunpur Sultanate had



Figure 33: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Costume of Womenfolk

come to an end but Husain Shah was alive and living at Kahalgaon in Bihar under the patronage and protection of his name-sake Husain Shah, the ruler of Bengal. In spite of this two classical masterpieces *Laur-Chanda* and *Mrigavati* were composed and illustrated sometime between 1525-75, most likely from or around Jaunpur area. This corollary of fact tend us to assume that there was a Jaunpur school of painting which continued even after the dissolution of the Jaunpur Sultanate. In fact, the growth of Jaunpur school of painting in pre-Mughal India should be seen in context of the sack of Delhi by Timur in 1398 after which shifted the cultural patronage from northern India to three newly-founded provincial kingdoms, the Malwa Sultanate (1436-1531), the Gujarat Sultanate (1396-1572) and the Jaunpur Sultanate (1394-1479). The last one located in close



Figure 34: *Mrigavati* (Bharat Kala Bhavan)
Gorakpanthi Jogi of Jaunpur Area

proximity to Delhi-Agra and economically very rich on account of having been the most fertile Gangetic belt where art and culture equally thrived along with trade and commerce.

Promotion of Music and the First Indian National Music Congress in Sharqi Time

Music has been the soul of Indian culture. Its origin may well be traced as early as the Vedic times. Music was well acclaimed in pre-Islamic Arab society. *Musiqi*, *ghina'* and *sama'* are the Arabic terminologies used for music and musicology. However, with the growth medieval Muslim civilizations a group of puritanical and orthodox '*ulama* considered music unlawful or at least religiously unworthy. But it is also a fact that many of the Muslim rulers and their nobles in medieval Islamic world gave patronage and support

to the growth of music. So far as India is considered right from the establishment of the sultanate rule music was played and patronized in a significant way. Some of the rulers took personal interests in Indian music and they themselves played music of one or the other kind. On the other hand, the *sufis* particularly of *Chishti*, *Suharwardi* and *Firdausi* orders who favoured *sama'* (devotional songs) which sustained them in their devotion, played some role in cultivation and popularizing of music among the Muslim folk. *Taj-ul Ma'asir* of Hasan Nizami, the earliest chronicle of the sultanate rule in India carries many references to music and the people were thus introduced to the musical instruments like *jalājil* (gong), *duff* (tambourine), *tabal* (barrel-shaped drum), *tas* (cymbal), *chang* (harp), *tambur* (pandore), *rabāb* (rebec), *barbat* (lyre or lute), *'anqā'* (a musical note, also an instrument), *nay* (flute), *kus* (drum), *buq* (trumpet), *sarod* (an instrument played with a plectrum), *mazāmir* (the wood-wind musical instrument), *kamancha* (fiddle bow) and several other Arabic and Persian musical instruments.⁴² Some of these instruments were already known in India under different names. Amir Khusrau who was himself an accomplished musician, has referred to many musical instruments, their definitions, musical notes and other details about music in his famous works *Qiran-us Sādain*, *Ijāz-i Khusravi* and *Nuh Siphār*. It is also said that he invented the *sitār* or *sih-tār* (guitar) with three strings. Though Amir Khusro has not mentioned of it, Faqirullah, the author of *Rāg Darpan* has attributed it to him.⁴³

The Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur were equally enthusiastic in promoting Indian culture. Not only did they encourage painting, but music also. *Chishti* and *Suharwardi* *sufis* of Jaunpur, Zafrabad, Kachhauchha and Manikpur practiced *sama'* and Hindi *rāgas*. On the other hand, Ibrahim Shah and Husain Shah took personal interests in the promotion and patronage of music. The famous musical work *Sangitasiromani* composed in vs 1485 (AD 1428) at Kara near modern Allahabad during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi is the living evidence for it. Presently there are four copies of the manuscript of *Sangitasiromani*. They are:

1. Preserved in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur (ms. no. 16785, Sanskrit, 188 folios, scribe Vegaraya Kayastha,

dated 23rd August 1487). It is almost complete only some folios are missing.

2. Preserved in the Asiatic Society Calcutta, Kolkata (ms. no. 1713, Sanskrit, 2-26 folios, *Samvat* 1485/AD 1439). It a small and incomplete manuscript.
3. Preserved in the Anup Sanskrit Libarary, Bikaner (ms. no. 28.186, Sanskrit, 38 folios, dated *Samvat* 1730/AD 1673 by the copiest). It is also small but useful in restoring some missing folios of the Jodhpur ms. mentioned above.
4. Preserved earlier in Sarasvati Bhavan Libarary, Varanasi, now not traceable but its microfilm reported available in Institute of Comparative Music Studies, Berlin (microfilm no. 134, Sanskrit, folios).⁶⁴

The Jodhpur manuscript was translated and edited by Emmie Te Nijenhuis of Netherlands and it was published in 1992. In Introduction of the book she has written, ‘The *Sangitasiromani*, “Crest-jewel of Music”, written in AD 1428, was, as its title suggests, desgied as a standard-work on music. The fact that this large Sanskrit text could be composed under Muslim rule not only stands proof for the tolerance and liberality of the foreign invaders towards Indian arts and letters, but also shows that in those days musicology was still an important aspect of traditional Indian learning and scholarship.’⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that Sultan Ibrahim Shah as is informed by *Sangitasiromani* itself, maintained a large library containing a wide variety of books on music and dance. It was on his behest that a big congress on music and dance was organized by Malika Sāhi who was his governor at Kara. The Congress was attended by prominent artists on the subject from all over India. M. Ramkrishna Kavi, on the basis of the information provided by the said Sanskrit work of the Asiatic Society Calcutta, writes, ‘At the conference, the Sultan, in his presidential address pointed to the best of his collection and requested them to compose a work on music after due deliberation, discussion and the settlement of differences in various older schools, registering their conclusions and theories. Their combined effort, supported by the royal patronage and focused unanimity by the noble impartiality of the president, produced a large work in music called *Sangitasiromani*.’⁴⁵ Participants at the conference who

composed *Sangitasiromani*, had consulted several other works on the subject, including *Sangitsagar*, *Sangitdipika*, *Sangitchuraman*, *Sangitratnakar*, *Sangitdarpan*, *Sangitkalpvrichh*, *Sangitratnavali*, *Sangitmudra*, *Sangitvinod* and *Nrityaratnavali*. Ramkrishna Kavi has attempted to trace the reference of these works in other valuable manuscripts on the subject. *Sangitasiromani* is very comprehensive work and contains a detailed discussion of various musical notes and grammar of music. It is divided into fourteen chapters but chapters x and xi are missing. Each chapter is devoted to a specific aspect of the music, for instance: Chapter I (*Śruti* or Intonation), Chapter II (*Svara* or Notes), Chapter III (*Grāma* or Tone-system), Chapter IV (*Murchanā* or Scales), Chapter V (*Tāna* or Tonal patterns), Chapter VI (*Sādhāraṇa* or Overlapping), Chapter VII (*Varṇa* and *Alankāra* or Melodic line and Musical figure), Chapter VIII (*Jāti* or Mode), Chapter IX (*Giti* or Style of singing), Chapters X and XI (missing), Chapter XII (*Tāla* or Musical metre), Chapter XIII (*Prabandha* or Musical composition) and Chapter XIV (*Prakīrṇa* or Miscellany).⁴⁶

Husain Shah Sharqi also took personal interests in promoting Indian music and it is due to his contribution to music that sometimes he was called Gandharva.⁴⁷ He is credited for inventing musical notes or *syams* including the *Malhar*, *Megh Basant*, *Kehnur*, *Purbi* and some others as has been reported by *Rag Darpan* of Faqirullah. He also invented musical *todis* such as Husaini or Jaunpuri Todi, Rasui Todi, Behmaley Todi and Jaunpuri Basant.⁴⁸ Husain Shah is also credited for his patronage and development of the *khayāl* mode of singing.⁴⁹

Was Shehnai Originated during the Sharqi Period?

Shehnai or *Shahnai*, a double-reeded wind instrument is similar to the western Oboe. It is Persian as *Shah* means 'King' and *Nai* stands for 'Wind Instrument'. There is no any historical reference to trace its place and time of origin. Nor we have any equivalent or similar name to suggest its origin in ancient India. However, it is suggested that *Shehnai* appeared to be a popular musical instrument for playing outdoor on auspicious occasions and ceremonies like marriage in north India particularly from the sixteenth century onward. Since the Sharqi sultanate was most prosperous and cultured in north

India before the establishment of the Mughal Empire and the Sharqi rulers both Ibrahim Shah and Husain Shah not only took keen and personal interests for promotion of Indian music but invented several musical notes and tunes, it would not be a wild imagination to suggest that *Shehnai* or *Shahnai* was most likely originated in Jaunpur under Husain Shah Sharqi whose *Rāg Jaunpuri* is still admired and well accepted in the world of music. It may not be out of way to note here that several popular Hindi film songs like *Ghungnat Ke Pat Khol* (Film *Jogan*, 1950, Singer Geeta Dutt, Music Director Bulu C. Rani), *Jayen To Jayen Kahan Samjhe Ga Kaun Yahan* (Film *Taxi Driver*, 1954, Singer Lata Mangeshkar, Music Director S.D. Burman), *Dil Ched Koi Aisa Naghma* (Film *Inspector*, 1956, Singer Lata Mangeshkar, Music Director Hemant Kumar), *Chitanandan Aage Nachungi* (Film *Do Kaliyan*, 1968, Singer Asha Bhosle, Music Director Ravi), *Dil Mein Ho Tum Ankhon Me Tum* (Film *Satyamev Jayate*, 1985, Singer S. Janaki, Music Director Bappi Lehri) and many others are based on *Jaunpuri rāg*.

Sharqi Architecture

Several mosques, forts, palaces, bridges, *sufi* shrines and monuments were constructed by the Sharqi rulers. But most of these architectural edifices were destroyed by Sikandar Lodi when he attacked Jaunpur in his attempts to destroy all the signs and vestiges of the glory of the rich Sharqi kingdom. In spite of this some of the Sharqi buildings particularly some mosques were spared under public pressure. But some of the forts, palaces and other buildings like the forts of Rae Bareli, Dalmau and Zafrabad have been completely ruined and hardly any signs are visible. Some of the beautiful edifices like the Atala Mosque, Jhanjri Mosque, Khalis Mukhlis or Char Angul Mosque (Figures 56-7), Lal Darwaza Mosque, Jama Mosque (Figures 53-5), Jaunpur Fort, *hammam* and Shahi bridge are, however, still extant and exemplify the exotic and artistic tastes of the rulers. A. Fuhrer in his work *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* (1889), Muhammad Khairuddin in *Jaunpur Nama* (1899) and Mian Muhammad Saeed in *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History* (1972) have discussed in detail about the Sharqi architecture. Another

commendable study of the Sharqi architecture was by Percy Brown who also discussed the dominating features of the provincial styles of buildings in his work titled *India Architecture (Islamic Period)* (1975).⁵⁰

It is said that Sharqi mosques were greatly influenced by the Tughluq architecture in plan and design. But in spite of Tughluq influence it has maintained its own distinct characteristics. In connection with the Atala mosque, Percy Brown has noted, 'There must therefore have been engaged in the production of the Atala mosque a number of workmen trained in the tradition of the imperial style at Delhi and brought from the capital for service under the Sharqi rulers. On the other hand the manner in which the elements comprising the scheme have been combined and adapted to form a distinctly original composition seems to indicate that the actual and final conception was due to the genius of a master builder possessing understanding and vision of a very highly trained order.'⁵¹ Use of Propylon, surface decoration with creepers and floral patterns in place of arabesques, geometrical and Arabic calligraphy, as well as the *zenana* or ladies' gallery are the three distinct characteristics of the Jaunpur architecture. Egyptian styled lofty propylons or gate-pyramid consisting of huge recessed arch framed by tapering square colonnades of exceptional bulk and solidity compose as the façade of the Sharqi mosques. In fact lofty propylons are the trade mark of the Sharqi architecture as they are not found in any other Indo-Islamic edifices. They served the purpose of minarets which are not found in any of the Jaunpur architecture. It may also be noted that in comparison to the Tughluq mosques the Sharqi mosques are more decorated and ornate in theme.

*Five Outstanding Mosques Existing
in the Present Jaunpur City*

The earliest existing example of the Sharqi architecture is the Atala mosque (height 100 feet, perimeter 258 square feet with a courtyard of 177 square feet). Built in 1408 by Ibrahim Sharqi the mosque is quadrangle surrounded by cloisters of two storeys on three sides by propylons, and on the fourth by a high-ceilinged prayer hall which

has domed sanctuary in the centre with a lofty propylon of Egyptian style of 75 feet high and 55 feet wide. Black marble has been used for decoration of the interior of the central dome. It is also unique that in place of using common geometric and calligraphic patterns, botanical engravings, creepers and flowers have been profusely employed in the Atala mosque (Figures 49 & 50).⁵²

Khalis Mukhlis or *Chahār Angul* mosque is located in mohalla Dariba. It was built in 1430 by Ibrahim Sharqi's two governors Khālis and Mukhlis. It is a single dome prayer hall with two wings. It is popularly known as *chahār* or *chār angul* mosque due to a peculiar stone at the left of the main entrance having the miraculous property of measuring four *unglis* or fingers of any size (Figures 56 & 57). A third mosque known as Jhanjhri mosque that is located in mohalla Sipāh. It is called as the *Jhanjhri* mosque for its design of lattices or screen. It is a small mosque built in 1430 by Ibrahim Shah. The front propylon and decoration of the mosque is similar to the Atala mosque, giving the impression that the same artisans built both the mosques. Some portion of this mosque was damaged by Sikandar Lodi and some portion was used in the Shahi bridge. Later it was rebuilt and on account of this some of its originality is gone.⁵³

Lal Darwaza or Red Door mosque, originally vermilion-painted, was commissioned by famous Bibi Raji, the queen of Mahmud Shah Sharqi in 1455. It is located in Begumgunj mohalla outside the present Jaunpur city. It was adjoining the Sharqi's royal palace which was completely destroyed by Sikandar Lodi. This mosque is small and less massive but it has some designs of the Atala mosque and it also had a ladies' gallery in the central prayer hall. About the *zenana* or ladies' gallery Percy Brown has commented, 'A simplified reproduction of the Atala Masjid, and about two thirds in size, the interior differs from its archetype in one respect, as the screened upper compartment for *zenana* is placed in a central position adjoining the nave, and not relegated to the far end of the transepts. In this alteration one sees the influence of the royal lady who figured so prominently in the history of the dynasty, and her insistence on additional consideration for her sex.'⁵⁴ The largest propylon is 40.5 feet. Pillars of the prayer hall are mounted by lintels and lower portion is in trabeate fashion of the Hindu temples.

Last but largest is the Jāmā mosque that is located in mohalla

Purani Bazār, the Jama Masjid (height 200 feet) was built in 1470 by Husain Shah Sharqi. It is the last but largest of all the Sharqi mosques. Broad plan and execution of the Jama Masjid resembles the Atala mosque but in style and decoration it varies. It is larger and more commanding. The most unique feature of this mosque is its plinth that is six metre high from the ground level with an imposing flight of steps. The entire building is divided into five compartments with central domed roof (11.4 metres in diameter) in the middle while four two-storey flat roofed compartments on all the four sides which were perhaps meant for the resting of the travellers and merchants. Each of the flat roofs has a dome in the middle at the entrance. The central sanctuary has a façade of pylon that is 85 feet high and 77 feet wide at the base and a long rectangular prayer hall facing west. The interior is illuminated by windows pieced into the dome's drum. The courtyard of the Jama Masjid is square and spacious of 210 feet. It has a central fountain and a pair of rustling date-palms (Figures 53-5).⁵⁵

John Marshall in his essay on pre-Mughal Indian architecture published in *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, has discussed some of the original theories and ideas, particularly the influence of Tughluq elements in the Sharqi monuments. Saeed has missed to mention it in his work. The elevated platform of the Sharqi mosque with an impressive, domed entrance by the middle of each cloister, the huge portal of the sanctuary assuming the form of a tapering Egyptian propylon, the four-centred tendency of the arch with spearhead motif, the tapering towers and buttresses and above all the rhythm and harmony created by the three-domed entrances and the massive portal, corresponding with each other, must have been copied from the Tughluq architecture. The origin of this kind of architectural style may be located in some Persian mosques which have vaulted entrances on the four sides creating a kind of balance and symmetry. Tarafdar's claim that 'Preference for the dome in the Indian mosques was perhaps an innovation of the Indian architects who thought that this kind of roofing would be more durable than the vault which needed a kind of permanent'⁵⁶ appears confusing because the dome was already in use in mosques outside India. However, the vaulted roof of the Jama Mosque was more durable because of the four-pointed arches placed transversely in the transept

in the form of a permanent kind of centering not only to carry the pressure of the vault but also to transmit it to the thick wall on either side and the vault also consists of stone slabs placed over the arches. Besides, tiers of arcades and brackets, the method which was later employed in the Sher Shah's mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar, was a very significant feature of Jaunpur architecture. This gives the look of a double dome or bi-shells.

Much more interesting and attracting is the Shahi fort of Jaunpur. Built over river Gomti near the Shahi Bridge the fort was first of all built on a ridge. Later it was rebuilt in 1376-7 during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. It was destroyed by the Lodis when they had wars with the Jaunpur ruler, Husain Shah. It was renovated during the time of Mughal ruler Akbar. Irregular quadrangle walls with main gate towards the east and another gate towards west approached by a steep passage cut through the ridge or mound is one of the attractive features of the fort. An outer 11 metre high gate was built by Munim Khan during the time of Akbar. A Turkish *hammam* and a mosque inside the fort are other attractions (Figures 35-40).

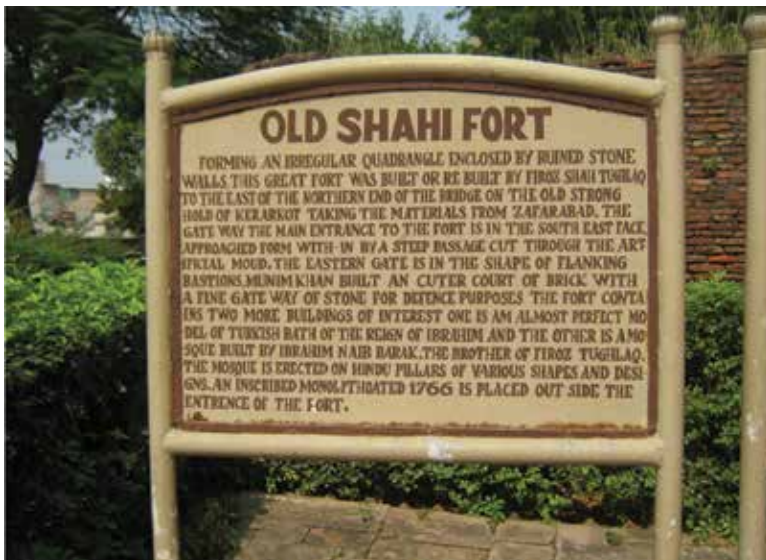


Figure 35: Information Provided by the ASI



Figure 36: Main Gate of the Jaunpur Fort built by Firoz Shah Tughluq



Figure 37: Panel Pattern on the walls of Jaunpur Fort 1

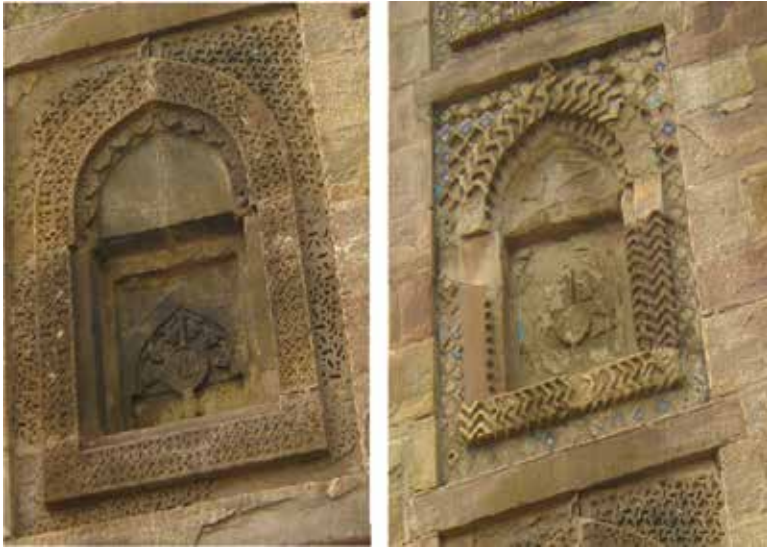


Figure 38: Panel Pattern on the Walls of Jaunpur Fort 2



Figure 39: Another Design of the Panel in the Walls of Jaunpur Fort



Figure 40: Column Patterns in the Jaunpur Fort Mosque

Turkish *Hammam* Built by Ibrahim Shah

A unique *hammam* built by Sultan Ibrahim still exists inside the fort of Jaunpur. The dome-like roof of the *hammam* is conjoined together and its height is very low from outside. It appears that they were built of tiny bits of bricks or *surkhi* (Figure 41). Vaulted skylight in the ceiling provided light and air to the *hammam* (Figure 44). Water was supplied to the *hammam* through ceramic drain-pipes from a nearby well (Figures 42 & 43). There were separate chambers for hot water and normal water for winter and summer respectively (Figures 46 & 47). Besides, there was a chamber for bathing and changing the dress (Figures 45 & 46). It is said that it is a perfect model of Turkish *Hammam*.⁵⁷ The bigger Baoli *Hammam* of the *Bada Imāmbada*, Lucknow appears to have been built on the same pattern but on bigger scale.



Figure 41: View of the *Hammam* from Outside



Figure 42: Water Supply to the Turkish *Hammam*, Jaunpur



Figure 43: Water Supply Sytem to the *Hammam*, Jaunpur



Figure 44: Ceiling Pattern providing Air and Light to the *Hammam*



Figure 45: Chamber for Changing Dress in the *Hammam*



Figure 46: Chamber for Bathing in the *Hammam*



Figure 47: Arrangement for Providing Hot Water
in the *Hammam*



Figure 48: Chamber for Heating Water
in the *Hammam*

Zenana or Ladies Gallery: Myth or Reality?

A unique feature of some of the medieval Indian mosques is said to be the *zenana* gallery. There are a number of sultanate mosques existing in India specially Bengal, Jaunpur and Gujarat which have claimed to be *zanana* or ladies' gallery. In Bengal the most glaring example of this is the Adina mosque of Hazrat Pandua locating in modern Malda district of West Bengal, India. Adina mosque, built by Sikandar Shah (1357-90), was the largest of all mosques of Sultanate Bengal. The ladies' gallery forms an upper storey built on pillars to the north end of the main prayer hall and it is 'known as the *Badshah-ka-Takht* (King's throne), but in reality a private chapel reserved for the king and the ladies of the royal household'.⁵⁸

So far as the Sharqi architecture is concerned all three historical mosques, viz., Atala mosque, Lal Darwaza mosque and the Jama mosque carried a separate gallery that is said to be meant for women. Percy Brown has noted, 'All the Jaunpur mosques, however, show that special attention was given to the religious needs of women, as galleries were always provided their accommodation, the beautiful open-work screens by which they were surrounded being a feature of

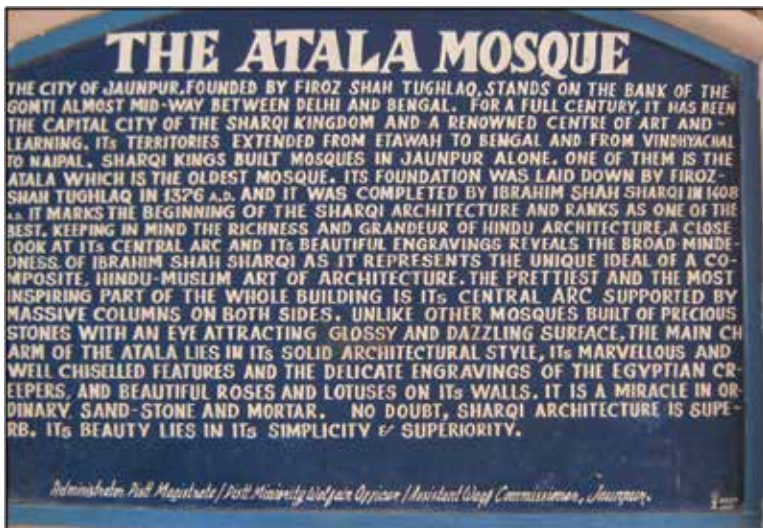


Figure 49: Details of Atala Mosque provided by the ASI

the style.⁵⁹ The ladies gallery is more prominent in the Lal Darwaza mosque because it is centrally positioned instead of relegated to end corner. In Adina mosque in Bengal also it is prominently positioned and highly decorated and ornate. A ladies' gallery is also said to have existed in the Jama mosque at Ahmadabad built by Ahmed Shah I.⁶⁰

It is a common belief that one or two-storeyed gallery with perforated screen or *jāli* in the above mentioned mosques was a *zenana* gallery, the purpose of which was to meet the spiritual requirements of the royal ladies. But there is no any written record or reference in any contemporary work or travel account which could establish that royal ladies practically used to go for offering prayer in the mosques along with king, princes or other male members of the royal family. It is true that the last Prophet had offered the first prayer before the *ka'ba* in Mecca and in that first prayer his wife Khadija offered *namāz* along with him standing behind him. But this was not adopted as a common practice of offering prayer by male and female members of the Muslim community together neither at that time nor later. So far as the Adina mosque of Bengal is concerned the ladies' gallery was called *Badshah-ka-Takht* or King's throne which denotes that the kings perhaps used to go there for prayer at least on Fridays and festive occasions like Eid. But whether the royal ladies accompanied them for prayer is not confirmed. With regard to *zenana* gallery of Jaunpur mosques especially in the case of Lal Darwaza mosque Percy Brown has argued that the royal ladies who played a prominent role in Jaunpur politics might have insisted on additional consideration for them. We know that Bibi Raji, the wife of Mahmud Shah and Bibi Khunza, the wife of Husain Shah were very active in the contemporary politics and played vital role in taking crucial decisions in matters of the state. They might have been instrumental in carving space for them in spiritual world and caused for the construction of a *zenana* gallery in mosques. But this is just a possibility. The other possibility is that the rulers of Jaunpur and Bengal had continuous wars with neighbours and in such condition going unprotected for prayer in mosques might have been risky that's why they got constructed exclusive gallery for them in the prominent mosques. So the gallery in question in the Jama mosque of Jaunpur sultanate as well as the Adina mosque of the Bengal sultanate were

perhaps meant for the accommodation of the kings and princes to whom protection was provided by the perforated stone grills covering the upper apartment. This feature was most likely a transformation of the *maqsurah* of the non-Indian mosques, whose origin is traced back to the mosque of the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiyah.



Figure 50: Atala Mosque, Jaunpur



Figure 51: Floral Design of Lotus in the Main Chamber of the Jami Mosque



Figure 52: Perforated Stone Work of Jali Separating *Zenana* Gallery in the Atala Mosque



Figure 53: Details provided by the Department of Tourism



Figure 54: Jama Masjid, Jaunpur



Figure 55: Various Decorated Stone Cut Pillars in Jama Masjid



Figure 56: Châr Angul Mosque: Notice Board Provided by the ASI



Figure 57: Châr Angul Mosque

In modern time a *zenana* gallery is found in *Taj-ul Masâjid* of Bhopal built by Shah Jahan Begum in 1912. It is said to be the largest mosque in Asia and a replica of the Jama mosque of Delhi built by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. This mosque was commissioned by the Nawab Begum of Bhopal and it carries a *zenana* gallery. ‘Her *Taj-ul Masjid* [*sic.* it would be *Taj-ul Masâjid* or the crown of mosques] closely echoes the design of the great Shahjahanabad mosque, this time even in the scale: it was to be the largest modern mosque in India. There are some intriguing adaptations: the oblong panels over the arches of the prayer hall in the Mughal model have provided the location for a *zenana* gallery in the Bhopal version; and the Mughal red sandstone has been replaced by the purple variant of Bhopal.’⁶¹ However, the Jama Masjid of Delhi built by Shah Jahan did not carry any lady’s gallery.

Shahi Bridge: The Wonder of Medieval Indian Civil Engineering

The Shahi Bridge of Jaunpur was originally planned by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi but it was finally built by Munim Khan during the

time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The inscription found on the bridge establish that the construction work of the grand bridge was started in 972 AH/AD 1564 and it was completed in 976 AH/AD 1568. The bridge has ten arches and is 300 feet long (Figures 59-60). The seven line Arabic-Persian mixed inscription on a reddish sandstone on the top of the east wall, on the south end of the bridge reads 'This magnificent building and splendid foundation was successfully completed at the private cost of the bounteous sire, in the reign of the great king, emperor, high representative of the emblem of royalty, shadow of God, the great conqueror Jalal-ud Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah. Its builder is Munim Khan.'⁶² It is said that when Akbar visited Jaunpur and was crossing the Gomti in a boat he saw a woman standing helpless on the bank to cross the swollen river. Akbar invited her in his boat and thus the woman crossed the river. After this event Akbar gave order for construction of a bridge over the river. The bridge is amazingly so strong and durable that even after a period of more than four and half century it is still standing intact to bear the heavy traffic and proving to be the life-line for the people of Jaunpur and Zafraabad. During his field work the present author had an opportunity to walk over the bridge and realized the wonder of medieval Indian civil engineering. The original inscription runs thus:

این عمارت عالی و اساس متعالی در ایام
دولت حضرت الاعظم السلطان والخاقان
مظهر المعظم آثار السلطان ظل الله
ابوالغازی جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه
از خالص مال صاحب خیری سمت اتمام
یافت که نام نامی و سال بناء و اتمامش
این کلامست بانی این منعم خان

*in 'imarat-i 'ali was asās-i mut'ali dar aiyyam
daulat hazrat Al'azam Al-sultan wa-l khaqan
mazhar Al-mu'azzam āṣār Al-sultan ḡill-i Allah*

*Abul ghazi Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah
 Az khālis māl Sahib-i Khairi simt-i atmān
 Yāft ke nām-i nami wa sāl-i bina wa atmamash
 in kalām-ast bāni in Mun'im Khan (Figure 58).*



Figure 58: Persian Inscription
 on the Shahi Bridge

True Admixture of Indo-Islamic Architecture

The Sharqi architecture of Jaunpur stands as the true living example of the Indo-Muslim architecture. The reason for this is not the appropriation of the materials of Hindu temple as it is sometimes claimed. But the main reason for this is the employment of Hindu masons and architects in construction of these mosques. One does not find any of the Sharqi mosques with heavily loaded Quranic calligraphy or even arabesques or geometrical patterns which are common characteristics of the Islamic architecture. Jaunpur kingdom



Figure 59: Shahi Bridge, Jaunpur



Figure 60: Outer Walls of the Shahi Bridge, Jaunpur

which became a centre for the growth of sufi *premakhyan* or Hindi love-lores and classical Indian music in eastern India, was equally liberal in promoting Indo-Islamic architecture by engaging Hindu artists, masons and architects who freely applied Hindu artistic and decoration patterns representing by flowers, creepers, *tiaras*, bells and other devices even in mosques (Figures 37-40, 51 & 55), the most sacred of the Muslim architectures as has been pointed by Fergusson, V.A. Smith, A. Fuhrer, Percy Brown, Mohammad Yasin, and others. Regarding the synthesis of Indo-Islamic elements and employment of Hindu masons in Atala mosque, Percy Brown has noted, 'There are inscriptional evidence to the effect that Hindu artisans were largely employed on the work, and these local guilds of masons, freed from the restraint of their age-old indigenous conventions, may have been mainly responsible for the inventive formation and fresh spirit of such notable architectural synthesis.'⁶³ Square pillars, lintel decoration, shafts and some floral patterns like lotus (Figures 37-40, 51 & 55) are certainly Hindu style of decorations employed in these edifices with great care, skill and masterly execution.⁶⁴

Regarding the style of admixture of Hindu elements specially with regard to the Atala mosque which is sometimes claimed to have used the ruins a Hindu temple, V.A. Smith has remarked, 'The gateways and great halls are thoroughly Muslim, with radiating arches and true domes, but in the cloisters and Interior galleries, where there was no need to roof large spaces, square pillars, often borrowed from Hindu temples, are used, and the construction is Hindu. The style, while it has much of the massiveness of the Tughlak buildings at Delhi, is less severe and more attractive, a curious hybrid of Muslim and Hindu.'⁶⁵ So far as the Lal Darwaza mosque was concerned it is said that its chief architect was a Hindu named Kamau, the son of Visdaru.⁶⁶ It is also expected that some newly converted Hindu masons also might have been engaged in the construction and they must have 'adhered to their traditional skill and expertise of the architectural art and craft'.⁶⁷ Yasin has noted, 'The style of ornamentation is purely Hindu, the lotus emblem being predominant, and even the name of God in the *Qibla* (direction towards Mecca) is inscribed on Buddhist bell. Jaunpur is still a pleasure resort for all admirers of art. The glimpses of its monuments viewed from the different parts of

railway embankment, where it crosses the valley of Gomti, reminds one of its past glory and provides a strong stimulus to miss the train for the next.⁶⁸

It may also be discussed here a statement of V.A. Smith wherein he has blamed the Sharqi rulers of destroying the Hindu temples in Jaunpur. Smith said, 'During its short period of glory the local sovereigns occupied themselves by destroying Hindu temples and replacing them by mosques designed on a grand scale, and in a distinctive style.'⁶⁹ In Atal mosque particularly it is said to be have been used some ruins materials of a temple. As name suggests Atala is a Hindi word and it means debris or ruins. It is possibility that some ruins of a Hindu temple might have been used. Demolition of any temple out of religious hatred cannot be established from any angle or logic because the Jaunpur rulers were never conservative and orthodox. As discussed above they gave liberal patronage and support to Indian music, folk paintings and composition of Hindi *premakhyan* or love-lores based on Hindu myths and imagination. Use of Hindu elements and patterns, and employment of Hindu masons and architecture in mosques is also well established. Besides, they got continuous support from the Rajput *zamindars* even in recovering his lost kingdom when its last ruler Husain Shah was living in exile in Bihar. Hence, the blanket statement of Vincent A. Smith accusing of destroying temples is without any strong evidence.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

All the independent kingdoms which had sprung up after the death of Firuz Shah Tughluq in 1388 and more succinctly after Timur's invasion on India in 1398 were assimilated in the Mughal empire one after the other after Akbar's accession to power. Malwa became a part of the Mughal empire in 1561, Gujarat was formally annexed to the Mughal empire in 1572, Bengal fell to the Mughals in 1576 while Kashmir was assimilated a little later in 1589. But it was only Jaunpur sultanate which was ruthlessly dismantled by Sikandar Lodi, long before the foundation of the Mughal empire by Babur in 1526. Meteoric rise and fall of the Jaunpur sultanate in the most fertile middle Gangetic belt reminds one the remark of Herodotus, the father of History, who said in his seminal work *The Histories* that greatest mistake made by those in power was the sin of 'Hubris' which means 'outrageous arrogance' in ancient Greek terminology. More than social, economic, natural or any other forces became responsible the 'hubris-infected' individuals for the decline of an empire because they 'lost contact with reality', 'overestimated their capabilities' and 'imposed their will at all costs' by abusing their power. The case of Jaunpur sultanate, to some extent, fits here. Kings and rulers in pre-modern time were supposed to fight with sword not with shoes in hands. Establishment, expansion and defence of their kingdoms and empires were decided by the use of their military power and strength. This was the law of the time and no ruler was ashamed of exercising this law to the best of their means and capabilities. But if a king threatened his opponent by shoes this would certainly be seen as a symbol of vanity and arrogance. Jaunpur's last ruler Husain Shah threatened his most strong and sworn enemy Sikandar Lodi to beat with shoes rather swords as has been recorded by *Tarikh-i Dau'di* noted above (p. 74). Such statement sometimes makes one's enemy

more resolute and unyielding. But the other side of the coin tells that Husain Shah gave such a statement of beating Sikandar Lodi with shoes was in defence of his most trusted ally, Juga, a strong Rajput chief of the Bachgotia clan. In fact local Rajput chiefs such as Raja Bhed Singh of Bhata, Raja Kirat Singh of Gwalior, Raja Juga Singh of Mainpuri and some others were the real allies of the Sharqi rulers on whose support and strength they fought the Lodi sultans of Delhi. Protection of their lives, honour and interests was incumbent on the Sharqi rulers, especially Husain Shah. On the other hand, on at least two crucial occasions Husain Sharqi's Afghan allies specially Qutb Khan Lodi insidiously conspired against his master and became reason for his defeats. Over-ambition and undue intervention of the *herams* in the state politics especially by Bibi Raji, the mother of Husain Shah and Bibi Khunza, the chief queen of Husain Shah was also a factor for committing mistakes and wrong decisions at critical junctures. In spite of some of these weak points Sharqi created a kingdom, the real base of which was their people and the peasants who ensured regular flow of revenue and soldiers to their master who became able to raise a strong army even in exile. This establishes that both social and economic forces were in favour of the last Sharqi ruler. But he was lacking in strategic insight. When the Bengal ruler Ala-ud Din Husain Shah who had given him shelter asked him not to make hurry for another attack but wait for a year the Sharqi sultan did not wait and made a final bid to recover his lost kingdom. But he failed. The other possibility is that Husain Sharqi might have thought that waiting for one year might have been too long and he might have lost his contacts, logistics and support of his allies.

The Sharqi rulers, with the constant help and support of their subjects specially the Rajput nobles and landlords gave a new shape to the economy of the entire middle Gangetic region. Not only new crafts were introduced and promoted by them, new market-centres also emerged during their rule. Paper industry began at Zafrabad, carpet production started at Jaunpur and other places and later shifted to Bhadohi. Utensils and other items of brass were produced at Benares and later at Mirzapur. Coarse muslin and embroidery silk were manufactured at Jaunpur. Oudh was also famous for the production of coarse cloth. Qannauj and Benares

became famous for the manufacture of muslin, calico, silk stuffs as well as gold and silver brocade. Kara, Manikpur, Jaunpur, Khairabad, Benares and Patna emerged as the large centres of trade sometimes not less in importance and dynamism than Agra and Delhi. The larger and complex bazār of Jaunpur as reflected by *Kirtilata* and *Ardhakathanaka* gave boost to the economy and trade in the region. All the overland and riverine trade of upper India like Delhi, Agra and beyond in the north with lower India like Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and beyond or vice versa radiated through the middle Gangetic belt which was controlled by the Jaunpur sultanate. Due to this geopolitical situation Jaunpur kingdom had certainly some advantage from the commercial viewpoint. For instance, Banarsi Das and his father used to do business both at Agra and Benares/Patna according to their convenience and demand of situation.

As a result of the introduction of new crafts and trade and commerce, professional classes became prominent and some new professional classes also emerged in the society. The chief professional classes were: *sisagar* (*shishagar* or glass-makers), *darji* (*darzi* or tailors), *tamboli* (betel-leaf sellers), *rangwāl* (dyers), *gwal* (*gwāla* or milkmen), *barhai* (carpenters), *sangtarāsh* (stone-cutters), *teli* (oil-pressers), *dhobi* (washermen), *dhunia* (cotton-carders), *kandoi* (confectioners), *kahār* (litter bearers), *kachhi* (vegetable growers/sellers), *kalāl* (wine-bruery/sellers), *māli* (gardener/flower-sellers), *kundigar* (pressers of cloth), *kāgadi* (*kāghazī*/paper-makers), *kisān* (peasants), *patbunia* (jute-weavers), *chitera* (painters), *bindhera* (artisans who bore holes in pearls and precious stones), *bari* (artisans who weave tree leaves to make containers and other such articles), *lakhera* (lac-workers), *thathera* (manufacturers of metal utensils), *rāj* (masons), *patawa* (those who weave silk or cotton threads into gold or silver ornaments), *chapparbandh* (builders of thatched roofs of houses), *nāi* (barbers), *bharbhunia* (those who sell puffed rice and other cereals in a roasted form), *sunār* (goldsmiths), *lohār* (blacksmiths), *sikligar* (knife-sharpeners), *hawaigar* (manufacturers of fireworks), *dhiwar* (fishermen) and *chamār* (tanners/leather workers).

Sharqi rulers whose chief currency formed debased money of billon/copper coins, had larger monetary zones. Various coins-hoards found from different areas in undivided Uttar Pradesh, Bihar as well

as Orissa suggest that in these areas especially the entire of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, their coins circulated in commercial transactions. A large number of his coins have been discovered from Almora and Nainital in Uttrakhand; Sultanpur, Allahabad, Pratapgarh, Ghazipur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Barabanki, Jalaun, Meerut, Moradabad, Rae Bareli, Rampur, Bada'un, Bahraich, Banda, Bulandshahr, Hardoi and needless to say Jaunpur in Uttar Pradesh as well as Sasaram, Hajipur and Begusarai in Bihar while Hazaribagh, Palamau and Ranchi in present-day Jharkhand. Most of these areas perhaps fell under Sharqi monetary zone; though some of the coins must have been brought sporadically by the merchants and brokers (Map 4, p. 143).

The Jaunpur region notably emerged as the great centre of mysticism and became renowned for philosophical ideas and mystic practices that has come down to us in the form of mystic and folk literature composed during and even after the end of the independent Sharqi kingdom. The Muslim mind and thought in the region was not only absorbed into the studies of *tafsir*, *hadith*, *fiqh* and *kalām* but was also deeply fascinated by the liberal folk stories like *Chandayan*, *Mrigavati*, *Padmavat* and *Madhumalati* followed by *Gyandeep*, *Chitravali*, *Puhupavati*, and *Indravati* in later years. India's tradition of tolerance and compromise which ultimately gave rise to a new set of Islam that may well be called Indian Islam which was theoretically not different from the Arab Islam but practically had absorbed many new traditions and practices which could be comfortably distinguished and this brand of Islam may well be called Indian Islam.

The Sharqi rulers beautified and embellished the Jaunpur city by constructing marvelous buildings both secular and religious, which carried distinct regional styles, intricate designs, size and characteristics. Jaunpur architecture was in fact far more impressive than the imperial architecture of Delhi.

Apart from the construction of new architectural edifices, the Sharqi rulers whole-heartedly promoted and patronized music and painting. Ibrahim Shah and Husain Shah, the two most powerful rulers not only gave patronage to music they took personal interests in music and introduced several new musical *rāgas*. The last ruler Husain Shah was an accomplished musician and credited for

inventing *Rāg Juanpuri* and *Khayāl*. The famous musical work *Sangita-siromani* was composed at Kara, near modern Allahabad during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi.

The short-lived Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur has thus left rich vestiges which refurbished India's culture of harmony and co-existence. The numismatic and architectural heritage as well as certain developments in the field of music and composition of the musical work like *Sangitasiromani* in Sanskrit form India's composite national heritage. These dimensions of the present research may be recommended to the Department of Tourism of Government of India as well that of Uttar Pradesh to bring this *Shiraz-i-Hind* or the citadel of medieval Indian culture to India's tourist map since Jaunpur is located hardly 15 km from Varanasi, a great tourist centre in the country. This will help understand the broader aspects of the medieval Indian society and culture particularly India's rich Indo-Islamic heritage. Detailed account of the various dimensions of the Jaunpur sultanate and its specific contributions in the field of economy, art and culture delineated in the present study would help form an idea in context of the rise of Islam in the medieval world and its expansion in South Asia. Adaptability of Islam in medieval



Figure 61: *Shiraz-i Hind Mahotsava* at Jaunpur

South Asia is a subject which is less explored and investigated. The form, content and power of adaptability as reflected and marked through the whole genre of literature of sufi love-lores, adoption and enrichment of Indian music, folk paintings as well as secular content in Islamic architecture promoted under the Jaunpur sultanate opens a window for fresh thought to both secular west and Islamic stakeholders in present time when the religion is bleeding into the world news every day.

Recently the Government of Uttar Pardesh started a public festival at Jaunpur that is known as 'Shiraz-i Hind Mahotsava' to recall the memory of the cultural glory of the Sharqi sultanate (Figure 61).

APPENDIX 1

List of the Rulers of Jaunpur Kingdom (AD 1394-1479)

<i>Rulers</i>	<i>AH/AD</i>	<i>Period</i>
1. Malik Sarvar Khawja Jahan Did not issue coins	796-802/1394-9	6 years
2. Mubarak Shah Issued coins but not yet found	802-4/1399-1402	3 years
3. Shams-ud Din Ibrahim Shah	804-44/1402-40	38 years
4. Nasir-ud Din Mahmud	844-61/1340-1457	17 years
5. Muhammad Shah	861-3/1457-8	1 year
6. Husain Shah	863-900/1458-94	36 years

Coin No.	Plate No.	Mint	Date	Metal	AP Weight & Size	Obverse	Reverse
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A Short Corpus of Rare Coins

Coin No.	Plate No.	Mint	Date	Metal	Weight & Size	Obverse	Reverse
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SHAMSUDDIN IBRAHIM SHAH (804-44/1402-40)							
1	1	No Mint	842	Gold	Wt. 11.3 g S-23 mm [approx]	[In Tughra style]: <i>Al-uathiq ba-ta'id al-Rahman Abul muza'ffar Ibrahim Shah al-Sultan</i> Ref: Private collection, Kolkata (G&G, J1)	[In a circle]: <i>Fi zaman al-Imam/na'ib Amir al-muminin/ Abul fath khulidat/khilaftab</i> [Margin]: <i>Zuribat hazah al-dinar fi sanh athni wa arba'in wa thamannayah</i>
2	1	No Mint	8[43?]	Gold	Wt. 11.1 g S-22 mm [approx]	<i>Al-Sultan al-a'zam/Shams-ud Duniya waddini/Abul muza'ffar Ibrahim Shahlal-Sultan khulidat mamlakatab</i> Ref: Private collection, Kolkata(G&G, J2)	Same as above, but year [thulth wa arba'in?] <i>wa thamannayah</i> [Note: 1. The word <i>na'ib</i> missing 2. Marginal legend is partly off the flan]

3	1	No Mint	823	Silver	Wt. 11.2 g S-22 mm [approx]	Same as coin no. 1 above Ref: Private collection, Kolkata (G&G, J3)	Same as coin no. 1 above but year <i>tulbb wa ashrin wa thamanmayab</i>
4	1	No Mint	822	Silver	Wt. 11.3 g S-22 mm [approx]	Same as coin no. 2 above Ref: Private collection, Kolkata (G&G, J5)	Same as coin no. 2 above but year <i>athni wa ashrin wa thamanmayab</i>
5	1	No Mint	840	Billon	Wt. 9.7 g 18 mm [approx]	<i>Ibrahim Shahi/Sultani khulidat/mamlakatab</i> Ref: Lucknow Museum (G&G, J6)	<i>Al-khalifa amir/al-muminin khulidat/khilafatab 843</i>
6	1	No Mint	842	Copper	Wt. 4.56 g S-14.5 mm [approx]	<i>Ibrahim Shahi/Sultani</i> Ref: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (G&G, J8)	<i>Khalifa/Abul fath/842</i>
<hr/> NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH (844-61/1440-57)							
7	2	No Mint	851	Gold	Wt. 11.1 g S-21 mm [approx]	[In Tughra style]: <i>Nasir-ud Duniya waddin Abul mujahid Mahmud Shah bin Ibrahim Shah al-Sultan</i> Ref: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK (G&G, J10)	Same as coin no. 1 above, but year <i>ahdi wa khamzin wa thamanmayab</i>

Coin No.	Plate No.	Mint	Date	Metal	Weight & Size	Obverse	Reverse
8	2	No Mint	85[3]	Gold	Wt. 11.2 g S-22 mm [approx]	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London, UK (G&G, J10) <i>Mahmud Shah/bin Ibrahim Shah/Sultani khalidat/ mamlakatab</i>	Same as above But year <i>[thulhb]</i> wa <i>khamisin wa thamannayab Al-khalifat Amir/ al-muminin khalidat/ khalifatab</i> 844
9	2	No Mint	844	Billon	Wt. 9.1 g S-18 mm [approx]	Ref: Lucknow Museum (G&G, J12) <i>Mahmud Shah/bin Ibrahim Shah/Sultani</i>	<i>Ref: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (G&G, J16) Bin Ibrahim Shah/sultanil 844</i>
10	2	No Mint	845	Copper	Wt. 4.5 g S-14 mm [approx]	<i>[In a circle]: Mahmud Shah [Margin around]: [Nasir-ud duniya waddin Abul mujahid]</i>	Ref: Lucknow Museum, (G&G, J14)
11	2	No Mint	844	Copper	Wt. 3.7 g S-16 mm [approx]		

FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ (Delhi Sultan) (751-900/1351-88)						
12	2	Delhi	775	Billon	Wt. 8.88 g S-17 mm [approx] Ref: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK	<i>Al-khalifah Amir/</i> <i>al-muminin khalidat/</i> <i>khilafatab 775</i>
MUHAMMAD SHAH (861-63/1457-58)						
13	3	No Mint	861	Billon	Wt. 9.7 g S-11 mm [approx] Ref: Lucknow Museum (G&G, J20)	<i>Al-khalifah Amir/almuminin</i> <i>khulidat/khilafatab 861</i>
14	3	No Mint	862	Copper	Wt. 4.4 g S-15 mm [approx] Ref: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK(G&G, J23)	<i>Khilafah/Abul Fath/862</i>
HUSAIN SHAH (863-900/1458-94)						
15	3	No Mint	863	Gold	Wt. 11.8 g S-21.1 mm [approx] Ref: Private collection, Kolkata (G&G J25)	Same as coin no. 1 above, but year <i>thulth wa sittin wa</i> <i>thamanmayab</i> <i>Ibrahim Shah khallada Allah</i> <i>mulkabu</i>

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Weight & Size</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
16	3	No Mint	Not clear	Gold	Wt. 11.6 g S-22 mm [approx]	Same as above but with a different die Ref: Private collection, Kolkata (G&G J25)	Same as above but with a different die Marginal legend not clearly readable
17	3	No Mint	Not clear	Gold	Wt. 11.7 g S-21 mm [approx]	Same as above but with a different die Ref: Private collection, Kolkata (G&G J25)	Same as above but with a different die Marginal legend also different and not clearly readable
18	3	No Mint	86[3?]	Gold	Wt. 11.6 g S-23 mm [approx]	Same as above Ref: Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (G&G J25)	Same as above, but year: [<i>thulhi?</i>] <i>ua sittin ua thamannayab</i>
19	4	No Mint	870	Gold	Wt. 11.2 g S-22 mm [approx]	Legend same as above Ref: British Museum, London (G&G J25)	Legend same as above but year: <i>sab'in</i> [<i>ua thamannayab</i>]

20	4	No Mint	887	Billon	Wt. 9.7 g S-18 mm [approx]	<i>Husain Shah</i> /bin Mahmud <i>Shah</i> /bin Ibrahim <i>Shah</i> / <i>sultani khulidat</i> / <i>mamlakatah</i>	<i>Al-khalifah Amir</i> / <i>almuninin khulidat</i> / <i>khilafatab</i> 887	Ref: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK (G&G J27) <i>Khalifah/Abul Fath</i> /885
21	4	No Mint	885	Copper	Wt. 4.4 g S-15 mm [approx]	Legend same as above		
<p style="text-align: center;">Mughal Coins from Jaunpur Mint</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD BABUR</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(932-7/1526-30)</p>								
22	4	Jaunpur	Not clear	Silver	Wt. 4.61 g S 23 mm	[In a circle]: Kalima [in Arabic] Margin Around: [Name of the four caliphs], <i>Ali al-Murtaza</i> [clear at 3 o'clock]	<i>Al-Sultan al-'azam/Zahir-ud Din Muhammad Babur</i> <i>Badshah Ghazikhallad Allah mulkadhu wa sultanahu zarb Jaunpur</i>	[Two knots above & below] Ref: British Museum, London

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Weight & Size</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
23	4	Jaunpur	937	Silver	Wt. 4.55 g S 24 mm	Legend same as above ' <i>Unar al-Faruq</i> [clear between 5 and 7 o'clock	Legend same as above, but year is clear [9] 37 above [the word <i>Ghazi</i> , in the middle] Ref: Lucknow Museum, Lucknow
NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN (937-63/1530-56)							
24	5	Jaunpur	939	Copper	Wt. 9.1 g S-17 mm	<i>Ba-darul zarb/mutabarrak/ Jaunpur/khitta</i> [A mint mark below]	<i>939/Fi-tarikhsanb</i> [arabesques below] Ref: Lucknow Museum, Lucknow
25	5	Jaunpur	940	Copper	Wt. 8.9 g S-16 mm	Legend same as above [A mint mark below] Ref: Lucknow Museum, Lucknow	Same as above, but year 940 [arabesques above]
26	5	Jaunpur	941	Copper	Wt. 8.5 g S-16 mm	Legend same as above Ref: Lucknow Museum, Lucknow	Legend same as above, But year 941

JALALUDDIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR (963-1014/1556-1605)							
27	5	Jaunpur	973	Gold	Wt. 10.86 g S-25 mm	In pentagonal area with five loops: Kalima Margins: <i>Ba-sidq Abi Baker/ Ba-'addl 'Umar/Ba-biyai 'Uthman/Ba-'ilm 'Ali</i> [Marginal legend is truncated in almost all coins]	In an oblong: <i>Jalal-ud Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi</i> Margins—Top: <i>[Al-Sultan al-'azam] khallad Allah</i> Bottom: <i>mulkabu wa sultanahu 973 zarb Jaunpur</i>
28	5	Jaunpur	974	Gold	Wt. 10.78 g S-26 mm	Ref: British Museum, London Legend same as above	Legend same as above but year 974 in the middle
29	6	Jaunpur	975	Gold	Wt. 10.84 g S-22 mm	Ref: British Museum, London Legend same as above	Legend same as above but year 975 in the middle

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Weight & Size</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
30	6	Jaunpur	988	Gold	Wt. 10.87 g S-17 mm	In lozenge: Kalima Margins: <i>Ba-sidq [Abi Bakr/ Ba-‘adl ‘Umar/Ba-hiyai ‘Uthman/Ba-‘ilm]</i> ‘Ali [9]88	In an oblong: Muhammad Akbar <i>Badshah/Jalal-ud Din Ghazi</i> Margins—Top: <i>Khallad Allah mulkabu</i> Bottom: <i>Zarb Jaunpur</i>
31	6	Jaunpur	975	Silver	Wt. 11.47 g S-28 mm	Same as coin no. 27 Ref: British Museum, London	Ref: British Museum, London In an oblong: <i>Jalal-ud Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi</i> 975 Margins—Top: [<i>Nasir-ud Duniya waddin</i>] Bottom: <i>Dar-ul khilafa zarb Jaunpur</i>
32	6	Jaunpur	975	Silver	Wt. 11.00 g S-28 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above

33	6	Jaunpur	975	Silver	Wt. 10.85 g S 28 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
34	6	Jaunpur	975	Silver	Wt. 11.75 g S-29 mm	Same as above, but clipped at right edge	Same as above, but clipped at right edge
35	7	Jaunpur	975	Silver	Wt. 11.42 g S-30 mm	Ref: British Museum, London Same coin no. 33	Same as coin no. 33
36	7	Jaunpur	975	Silver	Wt. 11.39 g S-28 mm	Ref: British Museum, London Same as above	Same as above
37	7	Jaunpur	976	Silver	Wt. 11.26 g S-29 mm	Ref: British Museum, London Same as above	Same as above, but year 976
38	7	Jaunpur	976	Silver	Wt. 11.31 g S-28 mm	Ref: British Museum, London Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Weight & Size</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
39	7	Jaunpur	976	Silver	Wt. 11.38 g S-27 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
40	7	Jaunpur	976	Silver	Wt. 11.18 g S-27 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Legend same as above, but a little difference in arrangement of legend and style, year at left bottom corner, mint mark is also different
41	8	Jaunpur	977	Silver	Wt. 10.93g S-27 mm	Same as coin no. 39 Ref: British Museum, London	Same as coin no. 39, but year 977
42	8	Jaunpur	977	Silver	Wt. 11.34 g S-28 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
43	8	Jaunpur	977	Silver	Wt. 11.41 g S-27 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above

44	8	Jaunpur	977	Silver	Wt. 11.31 g S-28 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
45	8	Jaunpur	978	Silver	Wt. 11.20 g S-27 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 978
46	8	Jaunpur	978	Silver	Wt. 11.25 g S-27 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
47	9	Jaunpur	978	Silver	Wt. 11.26 g S-26 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
48	9	Jaunpur	979	Silver	Wt. 11.13 g S-24 mm	Same as above, marginal legend mostly truncated Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 979, marginal legend mostly truncated
49	9	Jaunpur	980	Silver	Wt. 11.00 g S-23 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 980

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Weight & Size</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
50	9	Jaunpur	983	Silver	Wt. 11.36 g S-22 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year [9]83, mint mark same as in coin no. 40
51	9	Jaunpur	983	Silver	Wt. 11.37 g S-21 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
52	9	Jaunpur	984	Silver	Wt. 11.39 g S-22 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 984
53	10	Jaunpur	985	Silver	Wt. 11.20 g S-23 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 985
54	10	Jaunpur	985	Silver	Wt. 11.47 g S-20 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above

55	10	Jaunpur	985	Silver	Wt. 11.38 g S-20 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but mint mark off the flan, year [9]85
56	10	Jaunpur	987	Silver	Wt. 11.33 g S-19 mm	In a square: Kalima Margins: Name of the four caliphs. Marginal legend mostly off the flan Mint mark on obverse Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but marginal legend fully truncated, mint name traceable at the bottom
57	10	Jaunpur	987	Silver	Wt. 11.39 g S-19 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
58	10	Jaunpur	987	Silver	Wt. 11.38 g S-19 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above
59	11	Jaunpur	988	Silver	Wt. 11.21 g S-17 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 988

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Weight & Size</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
60	11	Jaunpur	989	Silver	Wt. 10.72 g S-18 mm	Same as above Ref: British Museum, London	Same as above, but year 989
61	11	Jaunpur	990	Silver	Wt. 11.42 g S-19 mm	Diamond Shape enclosure of wavy lines: Kalima with Khalifa names as in coin no. 26	Legend same as coin no. 31 but year [9]90, mint marks and style different
62	11	Jaunpur	98[7]	Copper	Wt. 20.3 g S-21.5 mm	<i>Dar-ul khilafah/fulus/ Jaunpur[zarb]</i>	Ref: Lucknow Museum, Lucknow <i>[Hafti]/hashtad wai/nubсад/ sanbfī</i>
							Ref: Lucknow Museum, Lucknow.

PLATE I

Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah

Gold



1



2



Silver



3



4



Billon



5

Copper



6

PLATE 2

Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah

Gold



7



8



Billon



9



10

Copper



11

Firuz Shah
Tughluq (Delhi)
Billon



12

PLATE 3

Muhammad Shah

Billon/Copper



13



14

Husain Shah

Gold



15



16



17



18

PLATE 4

Husain Shah

Gold



19

Billon



20

Copper



21

Mughal Coins from Jaunpur Mint

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur

Silver



22



23

PLATE 5

Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun

Copper



24



25



26

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Gold



27



28

PLATE 6

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Gold



29

30

Silver



31

32



33

34

PLATE 7

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Silver



35



36



37



38



39



40



PLATE 8

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Silver



41



42



43



44



45



46

PLATE 9

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Silver



47



48



49



50



51



52



PLATE IO

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Silver



53

54



55

56



57

58

PLATE I I

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar

Silver



59



60



61

Copper



62

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